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by Margaret E. Major

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE SOUTH ISLAND IN THE 1840's.

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PREFACE

> ... in works which profess to describe New Zealand, the largest island of the three is not described at all. It is passed over sub silentio. But it seems never to have occurred to the gentlemen who have published their 'New Zealands', that it was necessary to see more than a very small portion of it, in order to describe the whole... .
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> D. Monro, "Notes of a Journey through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand."[1]

My aims in writing this thesis are to draw attention to race relations in the South Island in the 1840's, and to investigate the initial impact of missionary work. Although the title refers only to the South Island I have extended the study to the Chathams, Stewart Island and Ruapuke for purposes of comparison. Because the South Island contained barely a twentieth of the total Maori population, New Zealand historians have tended to concentrate on racial conflicts in the North Island. As a result Te Wai Pounamu has been something of a Cinderella awaiting her prince.

The condition of a few thousand South Island Maoris who, in half a century, were catapulted from the neolithic into the Victorian age is of more than

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1. NE 20 Jul 1844.

academic interest. In several respects I have attempted an extension of Harrison Wright's[1] work on the early years of western contact in the North Island to the southern islands of New Zealand. Although there are many predictable reactions between Maori and pakeha there are a number of important contrasts between northern and southern Maori. In the North Island the missionaries were the contemporaries of explorers, whalers and traders, and they built up their considerable political power alongside, though not as allies, of these Europeans engaged in secular pursuits. In the South Island, on the other hand, the missionaries came years after the less cultured and dedicated Europeans and had to establish their influence in competition with them.

It is not easy in a study of race relations to strike a balance between the good yarn and the convenient labels of the sociologists. While certain patterns and generalizations do emerge, Harrison Wright's 'confusion' and 'conversion' tags cannot be applied as representing a sequence of psychological developments. An undercurrent of confusion and elements of a clairvoyant fear are discernible in the

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1. Wright, H.M., New Zealand, 1769-1840 Early Years of Western Contact.

Maoris' attitude to Europeans from the days of the sealing gangs to the period of organized colonization in the mid-century. The Maori 'conversion' to Christianity in the 1840's was not different in kind from the earlier response to the whalers and traders. It involved a profound mental disruption since the values and morality of the whaling station and the mission station were far apart, but it was not deep rooted. The missionaries had so short a time in which to launch their work that the Maoris' conversion could be little more than an attraction to the person of the missionary and above all to his most significant credentials, books. By this interpretation the falling away of the Maoris from Christianity in the late 1840's and the 1850's was not the result of a sudden wave of disillusionment after the glad morning of conversion, but the almost inevitable outcome of an uncertainty more fundamental than the attraction of the trappings of European civilization.

Te Wai Pounamu was far from being a Christian Mecca even for missionaries. The South Island missions were regarded by most as an appendage of those in the North and by some as posts of penance for men who wandered from the path of duty in more populous places.

Because the missionaries were so few those who were resident for several years in one place seem an integral part of that area. One thinks of the stench and squalor of Waikouaiti in terms of James Watkin's melancholy; of the Rev. Reay establishing the work of the Church Missionary Society against the background of the newly founded Nelson settlement; and of Johann Wohlers' blithe sanctity like a breeze from the Baltic amid the decadence and lethargy of Ruapuke Island. I have adopted a regional approach to this survey comparing the impact of Christianity and race relations in areas where resident missionaries worked. However this method was not satisfactory for assessing the influence of that little known band of itinerant Maori preachers who roamed the country preparing their fellowmen for the European Gospel. I have surveyed their influence, and that of Bishops Selwyn and Pompallier in a separate chapter devoted to sectarianism in the South Island.

Histories of missionary work tend to fall into two categories: the scathingly critical, and the sentimental with accompanying hosannas. While I hope above all else to have escaped the latter I am convinced that in the South Island the charges by modern

anthropologists are not entirely justified. When the missionaries arrived the economic, social and religious bonds of tribal life had already decayed and the Maori population was in decline. However devastating the moral implications might be, tribal institutions could not survive if the Maoris were to aspire to anything like equality with the pakeha in a European New Zealand. The missionaries knocked down some of the remaining props of Maori life, especially the tapu, but they offered literacy, the passport to the future.

I am grateful to those who by their enthusiasm and advice have assisted me in this study. My thanks are due to members of the staffs of the Canterbury University Library, the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Christchurch Public Library, and to the staff of the Methodist Connexional Offices, Christchurch. I acknowledge Mrs. Margaret Pana's work in translating the almost indecipherable Gothic script of Wohlers' journal. Finally, thanks to my typist for her excellent work and co-operation.

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

JPS	:	Journal of the Polynesian Society.
LT	:	Lyttelton Times.
NE	:	Nelson Examiner.
TNZI	:	The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.

i. 345 signifies volume 1, page 345.

p.	:	page has been used only where necessary e.g. following a title which ends in a date or where the reference is to several pages of a book.

Unless otherwise stated the recipients of the letters of the Wesleyan missionaries were the secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Where the letters to the secretaries consist of extracts from a journal the date of the entry has been cited rather than that on the covering letter.

CHAPTER I : THE SOUTH ISLAND MAORIS BEFORE 1840.

> Much may also be traced as the natural consequence of a barbarous people being suddenly intermingled with a highly civilized race.
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> James Mackay, Junr.,[1] to the Native Secretary, Auckland, 3 Oct 1863.[2]

1. Pre-European Times.

When Te Rauparaha extended his visitations to the South Island in 1827 he found the Rangitane tribe occupying the Pelorous, Wairau and Awatere districts, and the Ngaitahu predominant to the south.[3] The Ngaitahu were originally a hapu of the powerful North Island tribe the Ngatikahungunu. According to traditional evidence they crossed over to the South Island about the year 1570[4] and drove the Ngatimamoe, who were then in occupation of most of the Island, southwards out of Canterbury.[5] The Ngatimamoe were obliged to accept

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1. Assistant Native Secretary.
2. A Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 138.
3. Mackay, A., "The Traditionary History Of The Natives Of The South Island Up To The Time Of Their Conquest By The Northern Tribes Under Te Rauparaha", Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, Part iii, vol. i. 46.
4. Cf. Hight, J. and Straubel, C., A History of Canterbury, i. 17. The Ngaitahu began to move over to the South Island about 1627.
5. This conquest began after several years of peaceful co-existence. Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, Part iii, vol. i. 41.

the control of their conquerors, but in time peace was restored, intermarriage took place between the two tribes and their interest became one.[1] K.B. Cumberland's map[2] of the location of the South Island tribes in the late eighteenth century shows the predominance of the Ngaitahu in Canterbury and on the Poutini Coast, with the Ngatimamoe in the south, and branches of the Ngatiapa and Rangitane in Marlborough.

In the early years of European contact with the South Island (1769 - 1830's) no mention is made of an inland Maori population, nor were there many Maoris living on the Fiordland coast.[3] Generally speaking the population was located on the more favoured northern shores of the Island, the east coast, with concentrations on and around Banks Peninsula and about Otago Harbour, and Foveaux Strait. Two estimates of the Maori population of the South Island illustrate the variety of opinion in this matter. Cumberland's population map shows that Cook estimated the South Island population at about 4,500, while Buck considers it to have been nearer 18,000.[4] R. Duff's estimate of an 1820 minimum level of 8,000 to 10,000 falls between these two extremes.[5]

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1. Shortland, E., to the Chief Protector of Aborigines, 18 Mar 1844, Ibid., ii, 123.
2. Cumberland, K.B., "Aotearoa Maori: New Zealand about 1780", Geographical Review, xxxix. 409.
3. Durward, E., "The Maori Population of Otago", JPS, xlii, (June 1933), p. 77.
4. Cumberland, 419.
5. Duff, R., "South Island Maoris", The Maori People Today, (ed. Sutherland, I.), 375.

In the absence of systematic archeological work on old settlement sites it is impossible to make an accurate estimate of these numbers. However, it is evident that no more than one twentieth of New Zealand's total Maori population lived in the South Island.

The Rev. J.W. Stack, Anglican missionary to the Canterbury Maoris in the 1850's, describes the Banks Peninsula Maoris as living in peace and plentitude in the pre-pakeha era. There was a variety and abundance of food, and ample activity to occupy mind and body. Life followed the rhythm of the seasons, each part of the day and year having its allotted task. Women attended to the household duties, and made the clothing and bedding required by the family, while the men gathered food and stored it in the whatas - storerooms built on posts, which were attached to every dwelling. When the work was done the Maoris gathered to recite and enact historical traditions and tribal genealogies by poetry, stories, songs, dances and round games.[1] A sympathetic missionary might be excused for an over-romantic picture of the dusky heathen meeting in the twilight to chant their ancient myths and legends. Stack is inclined to over-colour his writing about the Maoris, but his account of Maori life, when compared with the observations of other Europeans seems substantially true.

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1. Stack, J.W., "Maori History of Banks Peninsula", Tales of Banks Peninsula,(ed.Jacobson, H.C.), pp. 18-19.

The South Island Maori was no stay at home. Because he moved from place to place so frequently the tribal structure was less rigid, and the individual family unit of less importance than in the North Island. But this flexibility did not mean that the South Island Maori lived in a 'free' society. The Rev. J.F.H. Wohlers, Lutheran missionary at Ruapuke Island in the far south after 1844, observed that before Christianity came to Ruapuke the Maoris had a community of goods. Each sub-tribe, generally under a minor chief, lived and worked together. The crops they grew, and the birds and fish they caught belonged to the community of the sub-tribe.[1] Although the emphasis was on the hapu rather than the individual family, loose sexual morality was condemned. Infidelity in marriage was punishable with death.[2]

The emphasis on the tribe is also seen in the exchange of goods. The scattered people of the South Island, less well endowed by nature than those of the North Island, carried on a larger per capita exchange.[3] By a system of kaikoukai the Otago Maoris could exchange titi and other articles for kumara from Canterbury and even taro and hue from the North Island.[4]

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1. Wohlers, J.F.H., Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, (trans. by J. Houghton), 122.
2. Jacobson, 213.
3. Cumberland, 410.
4. Beattie, H., "Nature Lore of the Southern Maori", TNZI, lii. 53.

The Maoris of the South Island had control of, or access to New Zealand's only supplies of pounamu, which was found in the valley of the Arahura.[1] On expeditions to the West Coast greenstone was obtained by exchanging a variety of foodstuffs, while mats and garments were often given for the larger and finer pieces.[2] This exchange was partly a coastal affair, and partly carried on by summer journeys across the mountains, chiefly, but by no means exclusively by way of Harpers Pass and Haast Pass.[3] Cumberland's map of South Island routeways shows the importance of the greenstone trade.[4] The extent of the trade is indicated by the fact that pounamu was found among the northern most tribes of New Zealand, six and seven hundred miles from its West Coast source. There is a strange reference in a letter of Charles Darwin's written in 1854: "When I was in the Bay of Islands I saw several large boulders of greenstone..."[5]. Darwin was unable to describe the geological origin of these boulders because he did not know the surrounding country. Since it is unlikely that he knew of the unique location of greenstone he possibly thought that the odd greenish boulders were the fabulous pounamu.

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1. Cumberland, 410.
2. Firth, R., Economics of the New Zealand Maori, 407.
3. Skinner, H., "Maori Life on the Poutini Coast, Together With Some Traditions of the Natives", JPS, xxi. 141.
4. Cumberland, 411.
5. Darwin to Mantell, 17 Nov 1854, Ms.

The itinerant character of the South Island Maoris is an important fact in considering their attitudes to food and work. Especially south of Kaiapoi (the southern growing limit of the kumara) the Maoris, having no gardens to hold them during the growing season, were semi-nomadic[1]. While they were primarily hunters, fishermen and gatherers the life of the South Island Maoris was not without rhythm, and their diet not unvaried.[2] The titi was a favoured though unwholesome food. A more nutritious food was obtained by baking the young ti in a Maori oven.[3] In the more favoured northern parts the Maoris cultivated not only kumara but hue, taro and karaka.[4] Fish, and birds such as pigeons, kakas, and paradise ducks were caught,[5] and the roots of the many varieties of ferns were eaten.[6] Life was regulated by the seasons rather than by the more rigid tie of permanent gardens. In October and November the whitebait were running, April to July was the weka season, and in March began the move to the muttonbird grounds in the south.[7]

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1. Cumberland, 420.
2. Elvy, W.J., "Early Blenheim", quoted in Marlborough Express, 28 May 1941.
3. Shortland to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii, 125.
4. Stack, "Maori History of Banks Peninsula", Tales of Banks Peninsula, (Jacobson), 18.
5. Cumberland, 420.
6. Thomson, Mrs. C., Twelve Years in Canterbury, New Zealand, 17.
7. Beattie, 53.

The Maori attitude to work differed from that of the Europeans. The Rev. James Watkin thought the Maoris an idle and disorganised people because their patterns of work and motives for doing it were basically at variance with his : "... labour they do not love, nor do I think they do as much in twelve as they might do in two months".[1] The Maoris in Watkin's area around Waikouaiti were in the habit of leading a carefree life until the food ran out, and only then, when it was essential to their continued existence, would they go en masse to search for food. The European idea of consistent work and hoarding goods was not theirs.

Apart from the necessity of seeking food there was pleasure to be gained from certain kinds of work. To Europeans, anxious to get on with the business of living, hours spent in chipping and polishing a tool or weapon might seem wasted.[2] But to the Maori there was more pleasure in loving labour on a prized object than in perpetual work for its own sake. Eeling was another activity that the Maoris enjoyed, as C.J. Nairn discovered to his weary annoyance on a journey from the south coast of the Island to Lake Te Anau. "Natives eeling again - held journey up."[3]

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1. Journal of Watkin, 13 Feb 1841.
2. Bellingshausen, T., quoted in McNab R., Murihiku, 252.
3. Nairn, C.J., Journal of a journey to Te Anau, 26 Jan 1852, Ms.

As R. Firth[1] points out, the super-natural is intertwined with the practical in a primitive community. The South Island Maori lived in a polythèistic society from which no department of his life was immune. Kehu, Heaphy's guide during his exploration of the West Coast in 1846, invoked eels to come and bite, while reciting a mixture of the Wesleyan service and incantations to the taipo of the lake and river.[2] Religious ceremony was traditionally incorporated in the collection of food. A famous spot where the Maoris gathered every October and November to catch kanakana was Te Au-nui (Mataura Falls). Ancestral rights were strictly observed. Only certain hapu had the right to fish there, and each family had a defined fishing spot. The kanakana could only be taken from a section of rock with karakia and due observance of time-honoured customs.[3] The attention paid to the forms of the words was an indication of where the roots of the efficacy of the incantation lay. One is reminded of the Orthodox Church which has always attached great importance to ritual actions and to symbolic gestures whereby the inner belief is expressed.[4]

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1. Op. cit., 245.
2. Journal of Heaphy, 11 Feb 1846, Early Travellers in New Zealand, (ed. Taylor, N.) 195.
3. Beattie, 53.
4. Ware, T., The Orthodox Church, 122.

Although life was peaceful, fighting did occur as a diversion from the round of regular activities. Pulverised skulls which have been found in Maori burial grounds in the Christchurch area are evidence of such internal strife.[1] Occasionally hardy spirits in search of military honours would go away to fight the Ngatimamoe in the south, or Ngaitahu in other places.

Stack writes of one such adventurer, the heretical tohunga Kiri mahi nahina, who went to Otago from Akaroa in quest of military prowess and was killed in battle. Kiri mahi nahina had told Turakau tahi (the younger) that Tiki made man, whilst the fathers had always maintained that this was the work of Io. To extinguish this heresy Te Wera took measures to prevent the dead man's spirit escaping. All his apertures were blocked, he was cooked in an oven, and then, to make quite sure that the incipient heresy was extinguished every part of him was eaten.[2] The religion of the South Island Maoris was no vague polytheistic mass which allowed men to teach what they would. The thoroughness with which false teaching was stamped out was indicative of the confidence of its executors in the soundness and efficacy of their beliefs.

Central to the Maoris' religious thought was the tapu, with its two main aspects, the power to make unclean,

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1. Taylor, W.A., Lore and History of the South Island Maori, 56.
2. Stack, "Maori History of Banks Peninsula", Tales of Banks Peninsula, (Jacobson), 18.

and to make sacred.[1] Tapu was to most missionaries[2] the essence of that vast polytheism they had given their lives to destroy. It was an essentially tribal institution opposed to the individualistic faith they preached. How could a man believe that "All things work together for good" if he was still under the sway of this heathenish influence? How could any Christian Maori man carry food on his back and not fear the atua of his tribe, even if they were now but inferior spirits?[3]

The pre-pakeha Maoris in the South Island lived a life that was less complex and closely knit than that of the North Island Maoris, but they were not, in the early nineteenth century, wallowing in orgies and irremediable ignorance until those angels of light, the white men, should come to illumine their darkness. Their pattern of life was flexible, but there was a pattern. And the early Europeans in the South Island, while they were not all crafty land-grabbers or besotted land-lubbers, converted the Maoris to a way of life that at first mingled with, and then superseded the old ways.

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1. Firth, 245.
2. Colenso, the North Island missionary, was an exception. He saw tapu as a source of order. See Colenso, W., "On the Maori Races of New Zealand", TNZI, i. 40.
3. Shortland, E., The Southern Districts of New Zealand, Appendix III.

2. Sealers, Traders and Whalers.

The first white men to visit the South Island were sealers, and those who traded in heads. The latter cannot have aroused in the Maoris any love of the white man, except as a source of clothes and trinkets which were exchanged for the stuffed, steamed, and smoked heads. Captain Stewart was one who became notorious as a trafficker in this article of trade.[1] The love - hate conflict in the Maoris is shown even in this early phase by the fact that they flocked to any place where there were European traders.[2]

Information on sealing is scanty, since the men who pushed into every bay and visited every rocky island to gain their intimate and practical knowledge of the most remote parts of the coast had good reasons for not wanting to make their knowledge available to others. Most of the sealing bases established after 1792[3] were on the inlets and islands south of Milford Haven, but sealing parties did work further north. It is known that from mid-1809 to perhaps August 1811 there was a permanent population along the shores of Foveaux Strait.[4]

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1. Historical Records of New Zealand South Prior to 1840, (ed. Carrick, R.), 105.
2. Shortland, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.
3. The first pakeha residents in New Zealand were Captain Raven's sealers, who landed at Dusky Sound in 1792.
4. Howard, B., Rakiura. A History of Stewart Island of New Zealand, 37.

Many sealers had been hardy rascals in Port Jackson and their motives in coming to New Zealand had little to do with philanthropy. Hardihood and cunning were the prerequisites for existence on the rugged southern coasts, particularly for sealing gangs abandoned at their bases without adequate supplies. On 3 January 1810 a party of sealers under David Loweriston was landed by James Bedar on an island at the northern extremity of Cook's 'Open Bay' on the West Coast. The "Quantity of Provisions" they were left with lasted from 16 February, the day when Bedar was last seen to 8 September 1810. After the food ended the men lived on seals and fish, until about 27 November 1813, when they were rescued by John Grono's schooner, Governor Bligh.[1]

It is not known whether Loweriston's men met any Maoris, but other early Europeans in the South Island had first hand experience of the Maoris' thirst for utu when they were provoked. A Sydney Customs Record of 1810 reported that several boat crews in the far south had been murdered "and mostly devoured."[2] In 1847 the Rev. Charles Reay of the Church Missionary Society in Nelson, heard how, in the early nineteenth century sealers had been afraid to land on parts of the West Coast which was

1. McNab Notebooks, No. 1, pp. 42-45. Ms.
2. Hist. Records of N.Z. South, 107.

"deemed most savage...".[1]

As well as seals Cook had commented on flax, which grew abundantly on the flats in the vicinity of Bluff Harbour and to the north.[2] In 1822 Captain Edwardson set out in the Snapper to investigate the possibilities of this product. At Chalky Bay he met two white men, Stuart and Coddell, who had been captured and employed by the Maoris in hunting out Americans round the coast. The Maoris were friendly towards Captain Edwardson, until suddenly at Ruapuke they conceived the plan of seizing and massacring the English. Slaughter was averted by the diplomacy of Edwardson who promised trade but also threatened to lay waste Chief Paihi's country and destroy his tribe.[3]

The first observers in Foveaux Strait made faulty deductions from the numbers of seals visible on the short stretches of beach. Early in 1810 the average price of seal skins fell sharply from 14/- to 6/-, and by the end of the year the Strait sealing boom was over.[4] About 1823 there was a revival of the trade. On 3 March 1825 the Elizabeth entered Sydney direct from Dusky Sound with

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1. Journal of Reay, 25 May 1846. Ms.
2. Howard, 42.
3. de Blosseville, J., The Voyage of Captain Edwardson along the southern coast of Tavai-Poenammou, from the 6th of November, 1822 to the 28th of March 1823. Extract from the New Annals of Travels Geography and History, xxix.
4. Howard, 39.

3,000 fur skins, said to be the most finely preserved sample ever brought to hand.[1] During this revival a peculiar settlement began at Codfish Island off the south-west coast of Stewart Island. This bleak and lonely site was ideally suited for sealing but for little else. At first, probably because of fear of the Maoris,[2] sealers were landed on the Island for short periods only. In time however relations became more friendly. In 1826, for example, the carpenter of the Wellington deserted his gang to join the Maoris, and in the following year the first half-caste child was born on Codfish Island.[3]

When late in 1826, it became clear that the revival was to be short-lived traders began to look elsewhere, and to extend their visitations over the whole of New Zealand. Edwardson had in 1822 engaged two women to work phormium near the Snapper, with the promise of fish hooks, nails, knives, scissors, hatchets, razors, glass beads and trinkets.[4] With the widening of trade an element of confidence was introduced into dealings between the two races. It was obvious to the Maoris that if they killed and cooked white men they would not acquire bargains in their trading activities. Unlike sealing, trade called for conciliation and diplomacy by both parties.

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1. Hist. Records of N.Z. South, 177.
2. Howard, 66.
3. McNab, Murihiku, 349-50.
4. de Blosseville, J. The Voyage of Captain Edwardson.

In the 1820's racial intercourse was still in its tentative stages in the South Island. Cannibalism was still practised - as Thaddaus Bellingshausen, leader of a Russian scientific expedition, found to his consternation when a chief told him during a meal that he liked human flesh "very much..."[1]. The Maoris were not slow to see the benefit of European goods, but they had little idea of relative values. They regarded a nail as a great acquisition, and would give in exchange for one their weapon petou on which a great deal of labour had been spent.[2] Trade with the pakeha broke down the principle of Maori exchange that for every gift another of at least equal value should be returned. Instead of the delicate hint at what was desired in exchange for his gift the Maori learnt to demand what he wanted.[3]

The uneasy patronising attitude of the Europeans is apparent from their expressed opinions of the Maoris. Bellingshausen noted the resemblance between their songs and those "among our own lower classes...".[4] Captain Edwardson considered nose-rubbing "a very disagreeable ceremony for the visitor, but the only proof of his safety."[5] He found it commendable that the Maoris were

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1. McNab, Murihiku, 250.
2. Ibid., 252
3. Chambers, W.A., "A Survey of Certain Aspects of Maori Relationships With the Wesleyan Missionaries 1822-1834", (M.A. thesis, Canterbury University College, 1953).
4. Quoted in McNab, Murihiku, 243.
5. Ibid., 324.

"modest" and "always completely covered by their clothes...";[1] but it is a moot point whether the climate or European inspired morality was responsible for the adequate coverage.

The first whaling station in the South Island was established by John Guard in 1827. As the number of whaling establishments increased individuals found it necessary to purchase from the Maoris exclusive rights of fishing along an extent of coast; hence the vast tracts of land claimed by many Europeans.[2] So long as they did not press and define these claims there was no trouble, but the tacit possession of the land was ominous for the future.

Life at the stations was rough. Whalers worked hard for their wages, and were often fleeced by the merchants and agents for goods such as soap, sugar and "Moleskin trowsers".[3] At Peraki, the most efficiently organised station, both Maoris and Europeans were kept firmly, if not harshly, in hand. In 1837 an attempt "to Rob the Captain House and the Peples Tow"[4] was

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1. Ibid., 323.
2. Shortland to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.
3. Autobiography of James Worser, Jan 1809 - June 1843, Ms. pp. 70-74.
4. The Piraki Log (ed. Anson, F.A.), 14 Apr 1837, p.50.

effectively dealt with. Likewise in his dealings with the whalers he employed Hempleman had a clearly stated agreement of terms. "...Any man deserting, leaving, or grossly neglecting his duty to be fined in the penalty of fifty pounds according to the aforesaid conditions...".[1]

Liquor was plentiful, but the whalers could not have lived in a perpetual stupor and done their work with such strength and skill. And the Maoris did not take to rum readily, as Bellingshausen noted in 1820 when he entertained a group of Maoris to a meal of biscuits, butter, porridge and rum. They devoured the food with relish, but one cup of rum was sufficient for the whole company. The Russian attributed this temperance to the fact that visits by Europeans had been rare.[2] And yet in the 1830's the Maoris at Weller's whaling station, instead of drinking their morning ration of rum, bottled it and sold it to the Europeans.[3] Shortland, writing in 1844, considered that the inordinate use of rum was a cause of Maori depopulation in the South Island; but he adds that the Maoris were encouraged to drink the same allowance as Europeans,[4] implying that they did not crave liquor.

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1. Hempleman Papers, Shipping and Whaling : Miscellaneous, 1834-1856, Ms.
2. Quoted in McNab, Murihiku, 242.
3. Jacobson, 213.
4. Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 125.

Preoccupied as they were with the weather and the chase, or with spells of jollification after weeks of privation[1] the whalers had little time for meditation and religious exercises. As Shortland said, the Bible was "a book not often seen at a whaling station".[2] In this respect also Peraki was exceptional. Many entries in Hempleman's diary for Sunday quaintly read: "Kept has Sabaoth".[3]

In 1834 there was trouble at Otago between Europeans and Maoris. In a letter published in the Sydney Herald in October it was reported that the Maoris "say white men are afraid of them...". When they were asked why they wished to kill the Europeans, they replied, "that it was necessary for their safety...".[4] The Maoris, repelled as well as attracted by the Europeans, could not turn away. They laughed when they heard of the small number of men who were coming to seek revenge for the murder of the people on the Harriet, but their words revealed their fear. The writer of the letter, for his part, showed true Anglo-Saxon fortitude in the face of rebellion: "... we are all prepared for the worst, and we are determined to die like men, and not give up the ghost without a struggle."[5]

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1. Jacobson, 267.
2. Shortland, Southern Districts, 251.
3. The Piraki Log (ed. Anson, F.A.), 160.
4. Quoted in McNab, Murihiku, 416.
5. Ibid., 417.

In November however, the Joseph Weller and the John Barry sailed to Sydney bringing the news that the natives had become very civil. The vague terror had once more been submerged by the strong attraction of the Europeans. The change in the Maoris was so marked that Weller decided to stay a few months longer. Unfortunately he died of consumption soon after the ship left, and his remains, preserved in a puncheon of rum, were shipped to Sydney.[1]

Taking into consideration the absence of efficient authority, except at Peraki, it is surprising that so few serious racial disturbances occurred. Normally whaling and trading were carried on peacefully, the Maoris giving labour, pigs, potatoes and later, land, in exchange for European goods. Many visited Sydney in whaling vessels and returned loaded with presents as the price of lands that were early purchased by Sydney merchants. The obvious evidences of change were the doors and windows appearing in Maori houses, and the supersession of Maori canoes by European boats. But these things were merely outward signs of a momentous and deep-rooted change. The conversion of the Maoris to the trappings of European civilization took place in these years, when they followed the whalers and traders to the Promised Land of the white man and found themselves in a wilderness from which there was no return. In pre-European times the Maoris' needs had been relatively

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1. Ibid.,pp.418-19.

few, and goods they could not acquire in their district might be procured by tribal exchange from other places. Now with their mana in the dust, they found that emulation of the European's ways and the acquisition of his goods were their only hope for the future. Many Europeans in the South Island remarked on the Maori propensity for begging,[1] but they did not appreciate that this characteristic was a desperate, if unsophisticated attempt to adapt from a tribal to an individualistic society.

The effects of the closer relationship between Maori and pakeha are seen clearly in the chiefs Taiaroa and Tuhawaiki. The contrasting comments of Europeans who observed these two men illustrate the facility with which astute Maoris could adapt themselves to different roles. Taiaroa, who D. Monro describes as "a most importunate beggar",[2] Captain Hempleman found to be the most humane and politic of the Ngaitahu chiefs.[3] On the other hand Hempleman describes Tuhawaiki as cruel and unscrupulous,[4] while another European remarks on his honesty and intelligence.[5]

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1. Journal of Watkin, 4 June 1842. He speaks of Tuhawaiki's propensity for begging; "...if there be a phrenological bump for that it must be largely developed in his case, indeed but few mauries would be found without it."
2. Quoted in NE 27 Jul 1844.
3. The Piraki Log, 159.
4. Ibid., 155.
5. Shortland, quoted in Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 125.

3. The Influence of Early Maori-European Intercourse.

In a collection of ironical statements about the South Island A.K. Newman's should have a prominent place: "...it has long been possible there [in the South Island] accurately to count every native, no matter how far back they may go."[1] For various reasons it is, in fact, impossible accurately to define the distribution of the pre-pakeha population of the South Island. The two sources most likely to yield information - native traditions, and traces of occupation - are both unreliable.

While Maori traditions may have a sound basis in fact, they cannot be relied upon for statistical evidence. When Maoris were discussing population figures with Europeans they frequently alluded to the old days when they had numbered thousands by contrast to the mere handfuls now to be found. At Molineux in 1844 the half dozen Maoris left there, in explaining their miserable state to Tuckett the land surveyor, said that at no remote period, indeed only two generations before, there had been over a thousand of them.[2]

The fairly widespread traces of occupation have been taken by some as a guide to population totals. Although

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1. Newman, A.K., "A Study of the Causes Leading to the Extinction of the Maori", TNZI, xiv. 462.
2. Quoted in Hocken, T., Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand : Otago, 223.

there is much evidence indicating a drastic decline of the Maori population under early European influence, there is also reason to believe that the pre-pakeha population has often been grossly over-estimated. D'Urville, for example, thought 50,000 inhabited the South Island.[1] Traces of settlement are fairly widespread, but the deserted pa,[2] the over-grown gardens,[3] the neglected eel spears[4] did not necessarily mean that a formerly virile race had perished "like rotten sheep...".[5] Often it meant merely that the Maoris had moved to fresh fields. The pa would be abandoned for reasons which the pakeha might consider trivial. Akaroa, once a favourite residence of the Maoris, was partially abandoned after their principal chief, Te Maiharanui had been kidnapped by the aid of the captain of the Elizabeth.[6]

Apart from unusual events like the capture or death of a chief, there were normal activities - the summer quest for pounamu, the seasons for whitebait, mutton-birds or kanakana[7] - which involved the migration of hapu to other places. The season might be enlivened by the visit

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1. Lewthwaite, G., "The Population of Aotearoa: its Number and Distribution", New Zealand Geographer, vol. vi, no. 1, p. 46.
2. Journal of Heaphy, 9 Feb 1846, Op. cit., 191.
3. Journal of Brunner, 6 June 1847, Ibid., 280.
4. Journal of Nairn, 26 Jan 1852.
5. Tuckett, quoted in Hocken, 223.
6. Shortland, Southern Districts, pp. 3-4.
7. See above, Chap. 1, pp. 5-8.

of a war party, as in 1834 when 500 warriors returned to Otago from Cloudy Bay;[1] or 1835, when Te Puoho and his hundred made their famous march down the West Coast, "to capture a lot of southern people and use them as cattle."[2]

Contradictions in the population estimates of early European observers are due not only to the lack of understanding of the nomadic character of the Maoris, but to the half-caste question.[3] Taking into account the lack of consistency in population figures it is still indisputable that by the late 1840's the Maori population had drastically declined. Jimmy Robinson who landed at Akaroa in March 1837 said that at that time there were over 1,000 Maoris at Akaroa, and estimated that there must be about 3,000 on Banks Peninsula, including those to the south of Akaroa.[4] Robinson and others who spoke of thousands of Maoris may have exaggerated, but there is no mistaking the contrast between their testimony and that of Bishop Selwyn in 1848 : "Now the work of a Missionary in New Zealand is like hunting a partridge in the mountains."[5]

The twin killers in the South Island were war, chiefly in the form of Te Rauparaha's attacks from 1827; and disease,

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1. McNab, Murihiku, 413.
2. Narrative of Te Puoho's march through Otago. Ms. Papers, New Zealand Institute, vols. 51-9. (Miscellaneous)
3. There was no one definition of a half-caste.
4. Jacobson, 149.
5. Selwyn, G.A., New Zealand. Part v, p.64.

resulting from contact with Europeans. Te Rauparaha's first South Island campaign was an attack by his allied force composed of picked men from the Ngatitoa, Ngatiawa and Ngatitama tribes on the Rangitane. Having accomplished this mission successfully, part of the North Island force proceeded to Massacre Bay and killed and made prisoners the Ngatiapa. Two of the leaders, Niho and Takarei, then proceeded down the West Coast as far as the River Hokitika, conquering all the country before them.[1] The rest of the invading band stormed and destroyed the Ngaitahu pa at Kaikoura and pressed on to Kaiapoi. This attack was repulsed,[2] but in 1830 a war party aided by the master of a European brig landed at Akaroa and carried off the principal chief of the Ngaitahu, Te Maiharanui.[3] In 1831 the Ngatitoa returned and destroyed the Ngaitahu strongholds of Kaiapoi and Onawe.

These invasions drastically reduced the Maori population on the East Coast and in the Marlborough Sounds area. Even more serious, because more sinister and corrosive, were the calamities due to early European contacts.

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1. Mackay, A., "The Traditionary History of the Natives of the South Island...", Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, i. 46.
2. Stack, J., Kaiapohia - The Story of a Siege.
3. McNab, R., The Old Whaling Days, pp. 22-37.

Elephantiasis, yaws, and scrofula were common as early as 1823,[1] and measles[2] took their toll, not only in numbers but in *mana*. The paralysing conviction that the race was doomed was behind the legarthy, the insouciance, the appeal to the past. Wohlers found the women at Ruapuke still suckling their grown children, and reluctant to bear more.[3] Nor was Ruapuke Island in the 1840's an isolated example in the sense of either time or place. James Mackay wrote to the Native Secretary in 1863: "But a very small proportion of the Native women rear children, and the idea has become deeply rooted in their minds, that the race is doomed to extinction."[4]

Surveys showed other facts which, in the light of the dismal Malthusian theory, augured ill for the future of the race.

> Looking, therefore, in the abstract to their improvident habits, also to the inadequate disproportion the female still bears to the male population ... any satisfactory progress amongst them is not to be expected... .[5]

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1. Edwardson, quoted in McNab, *Murihiku*, 325.
2. The epidemic of measles struck Otago in 1836, see below, Chap. 2, pp. 34-35. The Canterbury Maoris did not suffer from them until 1848-9. See Hay, J., *Reminiscences of Earliest Canterbury and its Settlers*, 8.
3. Wohlers, J., "On the Conversion and Civilization of the Maoris in the South of New Zealand", *TNZI*, xiv. 128.
4. J. Mackay jr. to the Native Secretary, Auckland, 3 Oct 1863, *Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island*, ii. 138.
5. Mackay, A., *Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island*, ii. 152.

This "inadequate disproportion" was no novelty in 1863. Watkin had found the same phenomenon which was exacerbated by "the practice of selling their the Maoris' daughters and sisters to Europeans".[1] In 1847, "from the best authorities the compiler has had the opportunities of consulting",[2] Grimstone reckoned the male population of the South Island to be in the ratio of three fifths to the female. It is difficult to account for this fact, apart from the sale of women to Europeans. In wars in the Foveaux Strait area in the early years of the nineteenth century women were ranked in the front of the forces to attack and defend while the men levelled weapons over their heads, but these tactics were not customary in other places.[3] One would expect that the southern wars of Te Rauparaha, with their consequent heavy losses, would have left a preponderance of females. A.K. Newman, an eccentric racial theorist, submits three interesting explanations for the disproportion of males. He says that mountainous countries; an abundant food supply to mothers; and male parents considerably older than female, result in an excess of male offspring.[4]

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1. Journal of Watkin, 13 Mar 1841.
2. Grimstone, S.E., The Southern Settlements of New Zealand, 44.
3. Sydney Gazette 5 Aug 1810, quoted in Hist. Records of N.Z. South, 107.
4. Newman, pp. 474-75.

The way an observer viewed the question of the decline of the Maori population in the South Island was closely related to who he was, and what his experience of the Maoris had been. Wohlers, who had been remarkably perceptive in dealing with the Maoris during his long term at Ruapuke Island, nevertheless looked back on thirty seven years of missionary work in 1881 with a sense of disappointment. The only way he could account for the declining population was by invoking God's guiding hand.[1] Writing in the same period A.K. Newman, with what now seems incredible arrogance, says that the Maori race was effete and infertile; it inevitably went to the wall to make way for a superior race. "Undoubtedly we do speedily kill the black races in all countries sufficiently cool for us to live and thrive in."[2]

Edward Shortland, Protector of Aborigines saw the population question in a different light. He deplored the jeremiads about the declining population, because of their likely effect on potential colonists and on the Maoris; Shortland's conviction was that the decline was not nearly as serious as it was reported. He said that in the early days of pakeha - Maori intercourse the Maoris lived together in large bodies for mutual protection.

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1. Wohlers, "Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South", 134.
2. Op. cit., 464.

Attracted and repelled by the "new things"[1] they flocked to any place where there were European traders. It is likely that the early Europeans over-estimated the population from the numbers they saw at the trading places and whaling stations. As trade and Christianity spread their influence the energies and animosities of the Maoris were re-directed, since it was no longer necessary or convenient to fight one's brother or keeper. The necessity of living in large communities became less urgent, and the population became more scattered.[2] Those who had calculated population figures in the earlier period from the large bodies of Maoris at the trading places would naturally have an exaggerated view of the decline.

The coming of the Europeans had a profoundly disruptive effect on Maori life in the South Island, but the missionaries found little serious racial discord when they arrived. By that time the Maori conversion to the trappings of European civilization had been accomplished. The Maoris had seen the light of European civilization and followed, almost involuntarily, if with fear. The Europeans treated the Maoris with lofty kindness interspersed with disdainful asides, revealing their sense of the role

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1. Wohlers, "Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South", 127.
2. Shortland, Southern Districts, pp. 39-41.

of their race in the world. They were somewhat surprised that a dirty "baboon" of a Maori woman, "nursing a couple of ugly puppies..." and her companions, were, on closer acquaintance, "not so much unlike their fairer sisters on the top side of the world."[1]

The distaste of the Europeans is understandable. Any missionary appointed to the South Island in the 1840's who dreamed of happy natives living in Arcadian simplicity in a remote South Sea Island, was to be disillusioned. Maori, whaler, trader, explorer lived side by side, but in an atmosphere far removed from the "sunny fountains" and "palmy plain" of the missionary hymn. W. Mantell described Port Levy, in 1849, as a forlorn and filthy settlement : "...people the huts with whalers - civilized natives of the worst description with a colony of 200 returned slaves who dont belong to the place nor the place to them...".[2] "Change and decay," rather than violence, was what the missionaries found in most parts of the South Island.

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1. NE 19 Nov 1842.
2. W. Mantell to G. Mantell, 16 Aug 1849, Ms.

CHAPTER II : A COMPARISON BETWEEN MISSIONARY WORK IN OTAGO AND THE MARLBOROUGH-NELSON AREA IN THE 1840'S.

> Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:
>
> Matthew 7 : 7.

In 1840, the year of the British annexation of New Zealand, the first South Island mission station was established. The settlers on board the Magnet who landed at Otago in February 1840 were followed in May by the Rev. James Watkin and his family. These two events gave notice that the era of informal trading contacts between Maori and pakeha in the South Island was to be superseded by that of settlers and saints.

In the North Island, on the other hand, the Cross was well established before the flag was unfurled. Since 1814 missionaries had followed their sacred calling alongside their fellow Europeans engaged in secular pursuits. The missionaries were the allies, not of the traders, but of the Maoris. To them trading was a painful necessity occasioned by the uselessness of money in a community so primitive that the only way to obtain food and native labour was by bartering articles of European manufacture.[1] The considerable political power of the missionaries

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1. Chambers, pp. 36-37.

stemmed, not from their trading activities, but from their position as advisers to the Maoris. With the decay of old traditions under the impact of European penetration the Maoris turned increasingly from their chiefs to the leaders of the new faith for advice on all questions, civil, personal and political.[1]

In the South Island the Maoris were converted to European civilization before the Gospel was preached there by Europeans. When the missionaries came in the 1840's they struggled to establish a niche against secret and open European opposition. Their situation was a far cry from the prestige attaching to the North Island missionaries in their accepted role as counsellors to the Maoris. A man of exceptional personality like Bishop Selwyn might gain the immediate support of the Maoris, but more ordinary men laboured in constant competition with other Europeans for their attention.

The first site for a mission station in the South Island was chosen only after four European missionaries had visited Queen Charlotte Sound between May 1836 and May 1839 seeking a suitable launching spot.[2] The second, in

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1. Brownlie, C., "The Influence of Early Church Leaders and Missionaries on Maori-Pakeha Relations and Constitutional Developments 1839-1848." (M.A. thesis, University of Otago, 1957).
2. McIntosh, A.D., Marlborough, 55.

Otago, was selected by John Jones, "a churchman",[1] but less singular in motive than those other earnest Christians. To the prophetic eye the progress of the two missions in their early years might have been foreshadowed in these beginnings. Queen Charlotte Sound had been probed and prayed over. Waikouaiti, in Otago, on the other hand, was chosen by a shrewd merchant loathe to lose his land. The thorny and the good ground now awaited a sower of the seed. And it was to Otago, the barren and thorny field, that Watkin, the first resident missionary in the South Island came in May 1840.

1. Otago 1840-1843.

Jones, having become "affected by the moral destitution of both the native inhabitants and white residents,"[2] had taken steps in 1839 to have a Wesleyan missionary sent. His offer of land, money, house, and transport was an ill omen for spiritual work among the Maoris in Otago. The Rev. James Watkin, with the missionary eye for tract material, lauded this princely gesture as "worthy of being recorded for example sake,"[3] but the rewards Jones reaped from his sacrifice were more immediate and tangible than those the missionary prayed would be granted him.

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1. Letter of Watkin, 18 June 1840.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

The merchant-Maori alliance was well established by the time Watkin came to complete the eternal triangle in the South Island. In October 1838, for example, the South Island chiefs Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa, Karetai, Topi Patuki, and Haereroa had arrived in Sydney for a visit, during which they sold vast tracts of land to John Jones, Green, Small, and Peacock, and doubtless spent a large proportion of the payment on sight-seeing and entertainment.[1]

Watkin and his family arrived at Waikouaiti, "a whaling station with a small Native population...",[2] in May 1840. By that time whaling in Otago had fallen off from the peak year, 1838. The rate of the decline in the early 1840's is illustrated by the falling production of whale oil at Waikouaiti and Onekakara (near Moeraki) from 1838 to 1843.[3] At "Weller's place" twelve boats were employed from 1835 to 1839, whereas in 1840, 1841,[4] and 1845[5] only two were in action.

At the same time as whaling was waning the Maori population of Otago was suffering a drastic decline. In a study of this question Elizabeth Durward[6] places the

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1. Hall-Jones, F.G., King of the Bluff. The Life and Times of Tuhawaiki, 54.
2. Shortland, to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.
3. See Appendix A.
4. Shortland, Southern Districts, Appendix VI.
5. Grimstone, 55.
6. Op. cit.

critical decade as 1834-1844. She cites the presence of a war party of 500 in Otago in 1834,[1] and works on the assumption that such a large fighting force could not have been drawn from a population of less than 2,000. Then, in 1843 we have Dieffenbach's statement that there was a small independent tribe at Otago which mustered about 300 fighting men with its total numbers perhaps 1,200.[2] It is reasonable to conjecture that the fighting force would represent about a quarter of the population, but the 1834 figure of 2,000 may be exaggerated. The war party had just returned from fighting at Cloudy Bay. From their aggressive behaviour towards Weller and Hayward[3] it seems likely that they had been victorious. If this is so, it is also likely that they had brought back many captives and hangers-on from the fray.

But if the decline was less steep than some have thought, it is clear that 1835-36 were bad years for the Otago Maoris. In recounting the march of Te Puoho through Otago, Rawirè Te Maire tells of how at Waikouaiti he heard the story of the fight, in which Te Puoho and his band were destroyed. The chief Topi told Rawire Te Maire that it was in 1836; "Others said 'It was the year of

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1. McNab, 413.
2. Dieffenbach, E., New Zealand, ii. 81.
3. McNab, 413.

the plague.' "[1] On his journey in 1844 Shortland talked to the whalers who spoke of "a great mortality which befel them during an epidemic of measles a few years ago..."[2] This was the same outbreak that had been reported when the barque Sushannah reached Sydney in September 1835.[3] The devastating effect of "the plague" on the morale of the Maoris, and their inability to cope with it, may be judged from these accounts related years afterwards.

But the blow was not final. The beginning of the sudden decline in the Maori population was coincident with the rise to the peak year, 1838, of whaling at Waikouaiti and Onekakara. The Maoris were carried through these crucial years on the crest of the whaling wave. It was only in the 1840's, when whaling was declining and the long term effects of disease were becoming apparent, that the props began to fall away. There is ample evidence to illustrate the squalor of the surroundings, and the resigned attitude of many Maoris to the situation. D. Monro, writing in 1844, gives a graphic description of the bone littered beach at Waikouaiti, of greasy vile smelling oil sheds, ricketty huts, and an assortment of dirty women and half-caste children.[4] Tuckett in 1844

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1. Narrative of Te Puoho's march through Otago.
2. Shortland, Southern Districts, 39.
3. McNab, Murihiku, 419.
4. NE. 17 Aug 1844.

likewise reported that the Maoris were dying rapidly; "'perishing like rotten sheep' these people often say...".[1]

It was into this climate of physical and spiritual atrophy that Watkin came with his message of sin and salvation. Here, apparently, was an ideal field for a missionary venture. The streams of tribal life had almost dried up, and the new waters of the white man had been shallow and bitter. Might not the Maoris be saved by turning to the new Way: indeed, was it not almost inevitable that they should do so. And yet Watkin experienced, not victory, but bitter failure which he expressed with sour distaste and gritty humour. His strange comment on his appointment sets the tone for most of his term at Waikouaiti:

> Mr. Bumby and Mr. McHenny thought me a proper person for the work and I was requested to take the new station, to this I acceded hoping it would meet with your [the Secretaries'] approval, particularly as my appointment on the Minutes was said to be a barren rock... .[2]

The text of Watkin's first sermon in the South Island, 1 Timothy 1:15, underlined the mode of thought of the Wesleyan missionaries. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the

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1. Hocken, 223.
2. Letter of Watkin, 18 June 1840.

world to save sinners...".[1] Watkin came, not to immerse the Maoris in a culture-bath, but to urge them to be saved. It did not take him long to launch into discussion on topics such as Revelation and the Resurrection of the Body. After such a session he noticed a man with a human jaw and teeth decorating his ear. Watkin considered that he had made the Maoris understand the Second Coming "tolerably well",[2] but it cannot be wondered at if they were more than a little confused at the practical aspects of that event.

A.H. McLintock describes Watkin as "a victim to neurasthenia and acute melancholy."[3] It is a harrowing experience to read his journal; and yet to say that he "alternately loathed and despised the natives"[4] is to ignore the evangelical idea of the burden of charity. The gall, and the occasional racial arrogance must be seen in the light of endless labour, isolation and discouragement by various European expressions of anti-Christ. If he did not love, he pitied the Maoris.[5]

Watkin saw it as his task not only to convert, but to instruct the Maoris. South Island Maori was unwritten in

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1. Letter of Watkin, 17 May 1840.
2. Journal of Watkin, 24 June 1840.
3. McLintock, A.H., The History of Otago, 118.
4. Ibid.
5. Journal of Watkin, 4 Jul 1842. "The natives need protection."

1840, and the missionary girded himself to "act the pioneer"[1] in writing and teaching the language, which he considered to be essentially different from that of the North Island. Shortland, on the other hand, said that the differences were unimportant, presenting far fewer difficulties than a man from the west of England would encounter in the northern counties.[2] But if the language difficulties were few they were significant. The Ngaitahu used the word papa to signify "bread", "father", and many other words with double meanings that would shock the Ngati-wakaue, and most other North Island tribes.[3] It is easy to imagine the confusion that indiscriminate use of words like "bread" and "father", so basic in Christian vocabulary would cause.

Watkin understood that what the Maoris wanted from his mission was the Word. In his previous appointment he had been used to large schools and plenty of books,[4] but at Waikouaiti the lack of books was a great obstacle in the way of educating, not only the Maoris, but his own children. Writing in September 1840 he goes so far as to

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1. Letter of Watkin, 18 June 1840.
2. Shortland, to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 125.
3. Shortland, Southern Districts, 33.
4. Letter of Watkin, 15 Sep 1840.

say that the lack of books is "an irreparable injury to this Mission for the Papists [Bishop Pompallier's party] have got into this neighbourhood with printed books...".[1] It seemed that God was with any mission that had men and money. So far as his own children were concerned, since he could not afford to send them to school in New South Wales, Watkin resigned himself to the fact that in New Zealand they would be at best ignorant, at worst morally corrupted by living in "this land of abounding iniquity."[2]

The spectre of popery and the menace of Octavius Hadfield's young Maori converts[3] were a positive menace, outweighing the other difficulties already harassing Watkin. To have his sphere of work, small and difficult as it was, tampered with and trespassed upon was almost more than he could bear. The agonising thing was that the rival churches had manpower, and he was alone. Had he more men Watkin thought that the Wesleyan Mission "might almost secure all the natives...".[4] It was an embarrassment to be stationed at Waikouaiti and be unable to communicate with the long stretches of District to the north and south. Travelling even short distances involved climbing mountains, wading streams chest high, and clambering

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., 8 May 1841.
3. Ibid., Dec 1843.
4. Ibid., 5 Feb 1842.

through swamp; while sea journeys to more distant parts were taken at considerable risk and long detention from his home and family.[1] Watkin longed for three Wesleyan missionaries: one at Waikouaiti, to visit Otakou and Moeraki; one at Port Levy, to oppose the French Roman Catholic influence; and one at Ruapuke, an important Maori settlement, and home of the Chief Tuhawaiki.[2]

Since no more men were forthcoming Watkin had to confine his activities to the immediate area around Waikouaiti. Even here the spiritual rewards were few. The Maoris were happy to co-operate in keeping Sunday and holy festivals when they fitted their way of life, but whaling,[3] and the quest for food when it became scarce,[4] often left the downcast missionary with a small congregation of the old and inform.[5] When promising recruits were in such short supply the death by drowning of the chief Kurukuru and eight others, "my best scholars and most hopeful people,"[6] was a stunning blow.

The Maoris were intensely interested when Watkin preached on the Flood,[7] because at this point the new

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1. Journal of Watkin, 14 Feb 1842.
2. Letter of Watkin, 5 Feb 1842.
3. Ibid.
4. Journal of Watkin, 13 Feb 1841.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 6 Mar 1841.
7. Ibid., 14 Mar 1842.

faith seemed analagous with their traditions.[1] Their craving for the marvellous was always aroused by controversial and dramatic topics such as the Judgement Day, or the Flood. Above all, many were keen to read and write. Watkin had many written applications for goods from blankets downwards.[2] Tuhawaiki paid a visit to Waikouaiti asking for a missionary, and pledging the support of his people to any who came.[3] Keeping up with the Joneses had literal meaning for Bloody Jack's Maoris.

And yet this interest in religious externals, this thirst for literacy, were not what Watkin sought. His message was that "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."[4] In May 1842, at the end of two years of heart-breaking labour, Watkin wrote: "I have no enquiries after salvation."[5] He himself groped to express exactly what he required as a standard of fitness for the rite of baptism. The restraint of unblushing wickedness, the recital of prayers, and the concentration on hymns instead of hakas were good, but Watkin desired "something more".[6]

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1. Near Otautau in 1851 Nairn heard of a flood which was said to have destroyed a tribe of 2,000. Journal of a journey to Te Anau, 17 Jan 1852. An old chief at Waikouaiti told Creed about a Flood story in Maori tradition. Journal of Creed, 12 Jul 1851.
2. Journal of Watkin, 4 June 1842.
3. Ibid.
4. See above, Chap. 2, pp. 36-37.
5. Journal of Watkin, 16 May 1842.
6. Ibid.

The obstacle was that the Maoris did not feel the need of salvation from sin. In their view, to be pronounced kaiponu (stingy), was the depth of moral degradation.[1] Sin in the heart as the plight of every man they did not understand. The Maori response to the Christian religion was an adaptation, rather than a renunciation of the old ways. They recited prayers, sang hymns, and kept Sunday, but even these visible evidences of grace were not always adhered to.[2] They were an aspect of the Maoris' conversion to European ways accomplished before the missionary came.

Watkin, so steeped in Wesleyan thought, with its emphasis on the Lovefeast mentality, longed to hear testimonies from converted Maoris. But when he preached "full dedication"[3] to the Maoris they "point me to my countrymen as being much worse than themselves, with a breaking heart I have to concur in the opinion."[4] The whalers at Waikouaiti were the greatest hindrance to his work. It was they who had "converted" the Maoris in the 1830's, not to Christianity, for which they cared little, but to a new way of life. The Maori could not go back, even if he had wanted to, but the white man was baffling in the different fronts he presented. The religion that

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1. Ibid., 4 June 1842.
2. Ibid., 8 Feb 1841.
3. Ibid., 30 Aug 1842.
4. Ibid.

Watkin preached was the Europeans' religion, and yet those who paid least regard, or even opposed it, were the Europeans themselves. Watkin's ambivalent attitude towards the effect colonization would have on the cause of Christianity among the Maoris[1] is the result of his experience of white men in New Zealand with other interests at heart than those of the Wesleyan Mission.

The nadir was reached in early September 1842, when the prevailing melancholy of Watkin's Journal descends into near despair. He ascribed the sudden outbreak of theft and violence to strong drink, and ends his account of it: "Things are nearly as bad as they can be."[2] In October the situation began to improve. The Journal records that one young man was showing signs of the elusive "something more" that Watkin had searched for in vain. "I talked and prayed with him in the morning. It is a beginning."[3] The more optimistic note is continued in a letter to the General Secretaries in November.[4] Even then, after two

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1. Letter of Watkin, 30 Sep 1841, "The Natives of this Island cannot be injured and must be benefitted by the erection of New Zealand into a Colony...", Cf. Journal, 24 June 1844, "Colonization does not promote Christianity in this Colony."
2. Journal of Watkin, 3 Sep 1842.
3. Ibid., 3 Oct 1842.
4. But by then Watkin knew he was leaving Waikouaiti.

and a half years at the station, the emphasis is still that the Maoris had the form without the power.

The year 1843 was a marvellous one for Watkin, not merely because it marked the end of his term at Waikouaiti. The arrival of five hundred Testaments on board the Triton marked a turning point for his work: "... that event was an era.... Were I competent I should sing the praises of the B. & F. Bible Society in immortal verse...".[1] There is no mistaking the radical change in the Maoris' attitude to the Mission when the Triton's cargo was unpacked. Opposition and apathy gave way to gratitude and industry, and by December 1843 the books were spread from Port Levy to Ruapuke Island. While in Marlborough the Wesleyan cause was suffering a crippling blow,[2] in Otago it was receiving its first significant wave of support. But the Maoris' response was not different in kind from their characteristic reaction to the offer of European goods, especially books. The thirst for literacy, not for its own sake but for what it might open up[3] was no new phenomenon. Watkin had long since realised that men and books were the key to success among the Maoris in the South Island. The only drawback in 1843 was that no European

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1. Letter of Watkin, Dec 1843.
2. See below, Chap. 2, pp. 55-56.
3. Parsonson, G.S., "The Evangelization of the Pacific Islands", typewritten copy an address to the Canterbury Historical Association on 17 Mar 1964, p. 36.

missionary or catechist was available to go with the Bible Society's munificent gift. The Maoris would have to interpret the Word as they could, and in Watkin's view "Native teachers are sorry substitutes for a Missionary."[1]

2. The Marlborough-Nelson Area 1840-1843.

Being closer to the North Island than their southern neighbours, the Maoris in the Cook Strait area of the South Island were more sophisticated and experienced in the ways of the white man. When the Revs. Bumby and Hobbs arrived at Port Underwood in 1839 looking for mission sites, they found that many of the Maoris of that place had already accepted the Christian faith. They showed their fervour for the Light by wading into the water after Bumby pleading for books and paper.[2]

The Maoris in the north of the South Island knew more of what the Europeans had to offer for destructive as well as constructive purposes. They had had first hand experience of what the strange new weapons could do in battles against Te Rauparaha's forces. For Te Rauparaha the easy despatch of the enemy was a good omen. For the southern Maoris, on the other hand, it was disastrous.

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1. Letter of Watkin, Dec 1843.
2. McIntosh, 56.

Before this they had been unacquainted with firearms, and the muskets used against them, though inferior and poorly used, were in their supernatural aspect , alarming.[1] The South Island Maoris had been equal to their foes in hand to hand fighting before, but the new god brought into play other qualities than physical strength, and created a different basis for military prowess.[2]

The Maori settlements in the Nelson-Marlborough area present considerable variety. There was not, as might have been expected, a general craving for firearms. When D'Urville visited Tasman Bay in 1827 he found the Maoris wanted clothing and trinkets, but were not interested in iron, although they knew the danger of firearms from tribes possessing them.[3] In 1832 Captain Steine arrived at the head of the Pelorous River where 200 Maoris were industriously breaking up the soil with hoes procured from the English and cultivating potatoes. Captain Steine found the Maoris friendly and willing to assist him in cutting trees and loading his vessel.[4]

A marked contrast to these peaceful scenes is the hard and lusty life at stations like Te Awaiti, founded

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1. Peart, J.D., Old Tasman Bay, 20.
2. Williams, H.W., "The Reaction of the Maori to the Impact of Civilization", JPS, xliv. pp. 216-43.
3. Peart, 20.
4. Hobart Town Courier, 7 Sep 1832, quoted in Hist. Records of N.Z. South, 13.

by John Guard in 1827. Te Awaiti was a European town, but some of its sailor and escaped convict occupants had Maori 'wives' who were proud to belong to the pakeha.[1] They exemplified the ambivalent attitude of Maori towards European - a mixture of fear, admiration and envy. At Port Underwood language was lurid, grog plentiful, and a woman could be hired for the season at the price of half a keg of rum or tobacco.[2]

In Marlborough, as at Otago, the late 1830's were the beginning of a new era.[3] The years of cannibalistic warfare were ending, and for better or for worse, the white man had come to stay. The old Maori methods of carving wood and stone implements were being lost, and there was a withering of religious belief and custom. As in Otago, whaling had begun to fall off in the early 1840's,[4] but the decline did not become serious until later in the decade.

The attacks of Te Rauparaha in the late 1830's were devastating, but not mystifying and sinister like the spread of disease further south. Frontal attack is more easily understood than atrophy. There is an air of vigorous life about the Marlborough whaling stations, in sharp contrast to the prevailing legarthy and lassitude in

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1. Buick, T.L., Old Marlborough, pp. 217-18.
2. Ibid., 223.
3. Peart, pp. 54-55.
4. McIntosh, 59.

Otago. Relationships with the white man were, on the whole, not as good as in the south, but for this very reason the Maori's mana was higher. John Guard hated the Maoris, but he did not adopt methods like Hempleman's for subduing obstreperous natives.[1] The principal Maori chief of the Sounds in the late 1830s was Ngarawa who, because he treated the whalers well, was known by them as "straight trees".[2]

The first resident missionary in the Marlborough-Nelson area was a Wesleyan, the Rev. Samuel Ironside, who landed at Port Underwood from the brig Magnet on 20 December 1840. Ironside was of the second generation of New Zealand missionaries. A young man of twenty-six,[3] he commenced his ministry on Christmas Day 1840, the twenty-sixth anniversary of Marsden's first New Zealand sermon.

Several months before the mission station was begun a number of Maoris, among them Rawiri Waiteri, (David Whitely), sailed more than two hundred miles to Whangaroa and Kawia to get books and a missionary.[4] Waiteri had been

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1. Hempleman confined a fugitive from the Wairau affray in an empty oil-cask for several weeks and fed him through the bung-hole. The Piraki Log, 160.
2. Buick, 220.
3. Marlborough Express 24 Dec 1940.
4. District Reports, Minutes of the Annual District Meeting of the Southern Division of New Zealand, Jan - Feb 1842.

converted at Kawia in 1835 or 1836 under the Rev. Whitely, and had returned to the South Island as class leader and local preacher. "Finding that he had not all the success he desired,"[1] Ironside notes, he embarked in June 1840 for the North Island to seek a European missionary. The prestige attaching to a single European of culture living among Maoris was something a Maori preacher, however eloquent, could not match.

Ironside reporting at the 1842 Annual District Meeting on his first year's labour in the South Island says that the Maoris in his Circuit were "earnestly endeavouring after rather than actually enjoying the 'Kingdom of God'...".[2] The missionary would, perhaps, tend to play down the effects of the work of the Maori preachers to highlight the lustre of his own converts. Still, the work of the Maori missionaries was essentially as forerunners, whetting the appetites of the unconvinced Maoris for the "new things".[3] The taking of the name of Whitely by the local preacher illustrates further the extent to which the Maori was converted to the white man.

From Ironside's estimates the population of the northern region of the South Island was far greater than

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1. Letter of Ironside, 10 May 1842.
2. District Reports, Cloudy Bay. District Meeting, Jan-Feb 1842
3. Wohlers, "Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South," 127.

in any other area. In an early letter from Cloudy Bay he says that there were about 1,000 people in the neighbourhood,[1] but after a year of extensive travelling he considered the population of his Circuit to be about 2,000.[2] At the beginning of 1843 he reckoned that there were about 600 members of the Society and other people on trial, and perhaps 1,500 bearers.[3]

The conversion of roughly a quarter of the population does not perhaps seem a phenomenal achievement for two years work. What is remarkable is the atmosphere of the territory. We do not hear of disease, despair, and reluctance to bear children. There is instead an air of lively hope, a buoyancy about the way the Maoris set to work building chapels,[4] and learning to read and write.[5] Of the fourteen settlements (excluding Motueka and Nelson) that he names as being his responsibility thirteen had chapels, most of which had cost the Society nothing but a few hinges and nails; and the fourteenth, at Oamaru, was being built.[6]

The contrast between the two Wesleyan stations at Cloudy Bay and Waikouaiti, in these early years is striking. Both regions had experienced a similar decline of tribal life and religion under the impact of Europeans before 1840.

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1. Letter of Ironside, 4 Feb 1841.
2. District Reports, Cloudy Bay. District Meeting, Jan-Feb 1842.
3. Letter of Ironside, 7 Jan 1843.
4. Ibid.
5. See School Reports, District Meeting. Jan-Feb 1842.
6. Letter of Ironside, 7 Jan 1843.

Otago had also been insidiously attacked by disease, but this disaster does not solely explain why Watkin's labours were unrewarded until 1843. The reasons for the success of the Mission in one place and its failure in the other are chiefly four: the location of the stations; the personality of the missionaries; the lack or availability of goods; and the presence or absence of rival claimants to converts.

Watkin began his work at the pleasure of a European manoeuvring his own affairs under the guise of pious benevolence. The missionary's greatest embarrassment was the presence of unchristian Europeans where he was trying to foster godliness and civilized behaviour among the Maoris. Ironside was free of this enormous hindrance. He deliberately commenced his operations away from the immediate vicinity of Europeans, since he considered himself "especially a Missionary to the natives...".[1]

Secondly, Ironside's grace was his fortune. He and his wife were young and could adapt themselves to the environment more readily than Watkin, oppressed with care about his family, as well as the sourness of his own disposition. Instead of horror and disdain, mingled with deep pity and unwilling charity, Ironside showed

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1. Letter of Ironside, 4 Feb 1841.

intelligent sympathy in his attitude to the Maoris. At the Lovefeasts which were begun within a few months of his arrival, the more eloquent converts often testified to their spiritual state by alluding to aspects of Maori life. Far from abhorring this, Ironside found it illuminating and satisfying.[1] In the atmosphere of religious zeal the Maoris responded well, and they were not slow to imitate their fellows. But the Lovefeast was a dangerous institution, because while it gave the Maoris opportunity to confess their new-found faith, it also nurtured spiritual pride and the desire to gain the applause of Europeans. If the thing was well said, the man was converted. If it was very well said, he might become a teacher.

Ironside records that Maoris came from long distances "solely for religious instruction."[2] The fact that he emphasised this statement shows that there was some doubt in his mind as to its truth, for he gained the support of the Maoris by giving them valued material, as well as spiritual possessions. In a letter he describes the houses being built by Maoris:

> I have felt it my duty to afford them all the assistance and encouragement in my power in this way, and have consequently supplied them with

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1. Journal of Ironside, 1 Nov 1842.
2. Letter of Ironside, 4 Feb 1841.

> nails, etc. Hope the Committee will not think a few shillings thrown away in such a case.[1]

Even more efficacious was the power of the Book. By May 1841 there were about eight congregations in the Circuit, all flourishing, with a school attached to each.[2] After Ironside had been one year at Cloudy Bay there were 579 Maoris attending the Sunday and other schools, of whom 441 were adults.[3] The monitorial system of teaching was adopted, and Ironside records with satisfaction that old chiefs paid attention to young slaves.[4] Clearly not only the basis of military prowess was changing. The reaction to the arrival of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Testaments in early 1843 showed where the Maoris' ambitions lay. Seven hundred "cannibal New Zealanders"[5] gathered in hope of receiving one of the four hundred books, and showed their appreciation (at Ironside's suggestion) by providing a paremata, at which the missionary counted six hundred baskets of food.[6]

Fourthly, Ironside was untroubled by competitors of other denominations for the attention of his Maoris. He had been sought after by Wesleyans, who had prepared the ground for several years before his arrival. Centred, as

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1. Ibid., 3 May 1841.
2. Ibid.
3. School Reports, District Meeting, Jan-Feb 1842.
4. Ibid.
5. Letter of Ironside, 10 May 1842.
6. Ibid.

his work was, in an area distant from large European settlements,[1] he was in a position of considerable prestige. Sectarianism was however a serious problem for the missionaries around Nelson. Rev. C.L. Reay who began the work of the Church Missionary Society at Nelson in August 1842, feared the evils likely to result "from the existence of two opinions amongst the natives,"[2] although he considered that in his district only a small proportion of the population were connected with the Wesleyans.[3] The Rev. J. Aldred, the Wesleyan missionary in Nelson, on the other hand reported that the natives were being confused by "the wily high churchism at present rampant in the land...".[4]

Under the impetus of a successful opening Ironside's mission continued to flourish. Even his sorrow at the death of Rawiri Waiteri does not hide his sense of the glory of his calling:

> If you think the above account worthy of a place in the Obituaries of our magazine, or can be made useful in any other way as a Tract, or otherwise, I should be glad for he was a very interesting youth - .[5]

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1. Ironside landed at Port Underwood, but after a few weeks he moved to Ngakuta Bay at the head of the Port. Marlborough Express, 24 Dec 1940.
2. Reay to Danesdon Coates, 31 Dec 1844.
3. Reay to Governor Grey, 2 Apr 1847.
4. Circuit Reports, Nelson. District Meeting, Sep 1844.
5. Letter of Ironside, 10 May 1842.

The crowning day was the opening of the chapel, Ebenezer, on 5 August 1842. The faith of the 120 members of the Wesleyan Society at Pisgah Vale is indicated by the fact that they constructed a chapel to seat 800.[1] The opening of the building was marked by the baptism of 163 adults and 30 children, and the marriage of some 40 couples who had been living together in their heathenish state.[2]

The year 1843, glorious at Waikouaiti, was for the missionary cause further north, a year of tragedy. The immediate cause of the turn of the tide was the murder, probably by a European, of a Maori woman of rank and her infant son, in December 1842. At the Maoris' request Ironside went to Wellington to act as interpreter in the enquiry. They believed that he would be able to represent their case;[3] but the acquittal of the accused for want of evidence was profoundly unsettling. The Maoris could not fathom the thinking of men who knew who had committed the murder, and yet let him escape.[4]

The depth of the impression made by 'European justice' may be judged by a reference in the journal of Rev. Charles Creed, who succeeded Watkin at Waikouaiti. In 1846 a woman at Ruapuke died it was said, at the hand of a European. A horde of Maoris from the south and

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1. Letter of Ironside, 7 Jan 1843.
2. Ibid., 9 Aug 1842.
3. Journal of Ironside, 24 Apr 1843.
4. Circuit Reports, District Meeting, Oct 1843.

Otakau thirsting for utu arrived at the Mission station. Creed tried to calm them and to persuade them to submit the case to the law, but they immediately cited the murder at Cloudy Bay in 1842, and the release of the supposed murderer, when no one had doubted his guilt.[1]

The Maoris' disillusionment concerning British law was irreparably deepened by the clash at Wairau over land. They saw in this "most melancholy & most tragic affair"[2] how the white man had deceived them, in going through the forms of a bargain. The result was a great exodus of Maoris, many to the North Island. Ironside surveyed his deserted station with dismay and grief. Having accomplished the initial phase of rough and expensive labour, he had hoped that his Fathers and Brethren in England "would have heard from time to time of the progress in piety of the Members...".[3] Now the only consolation he could find was that some of the converted Maoris had died before 1843, and, having been spared its horror, were rejoicing in Heaven.[4]

At the end of July some Maoris began to return to Nelson, but the conflict at Wairau had caused such a deep unsettlement in their minds that Reay found that his

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1. Letter of Creed, 5 Aug 1846.
2. Letter of Ironside, 25 June 1843.
3. Ibid., 5 Jul 1843.
4. Ibid.

efforts to obtain children for his schools were unsuccessful.[1] He took steps to improve race relations. In August he made two visits to Motueka; the first, with the Police Magistrate, to calm and reassure the Maoris; the second, to fix the windows and door of the new church.[2]

3. The Otago and Marlborough-Nelson Missions After 1843.

Creed saw good reason for hope in the work at Waikouaiti when he arrived in 1844. The Maoris compared well with those of the North Island "either in Scriptural knowledge or general information",[3] and at Moeraki three native teachers, Hoera (Joel), Matthias and David were active.[4] The Maoris at Banks Peninsula he found to be less advanced than those nearer the Otago Mission, but services and schools were held regularly.[5] On his journey south Creed crossed the dreaded "Korakaia" River nearly dryshod, and in a mood of spiritual exultation compared the experience with that of a Christian facing trials or death: "...thus passing safely through Jordan's stream he shouts 'Victory, victory, through the blood of the Lamb.'"[6]

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1. Journal of Reay, 5 Jul 1843.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter of Creed, 30 May 1844.
4. Ibid., 28 Nov 1844.
5. Ibid., 26 Nov 1845.
6. Journal of Creed, 9 Oct 1845.

For the north of the South Island 1844 was a year of uncertainty. In October Reay visited Okukari near Nelson, where a korero of Ngatiawa was held to discuss whether they should return to Taranaki. Their church and meeting house had been blown down in a storm, but until the Taranaki question was settled there was no prospect of the rebuilding.[1] In spite of this indecision, Reay considered that the minds of the Maoris were recovering from "the melancholy Wairau," and that in time he would be able to collect children for his school at Wakatu.[2] However the restoration of confidence would take time.

The South Island was the Cinderella of New Zealand missions. The lack of manpower, the greatest single hindrance to progress, was a result of an attitude which viewed the southern islands as an outpost of the north, and the southern Maoris as inferior in physique and intelligence to those of the North Island. Watkin had this in mind when he wrote hoping that the Secretaries would approve his appointment, especially since it was said to be "a barren rock".[3] Creed was sent to Waikouaiti, an earthly "purgatory",[4] apparently as some kind of penance for an affair with a Maori girl, Rae, at New Plymouth.

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1. Journal of Reay, Oct 1844.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter of Watkin, 18 June 1840.
4. Wohlers, Memories, 97.

He was censured in his absence at the 1844 District Meeting of the Southern Division for having written her a letter, "which we fear will bring Scandal upon us...".[1]

This attitude to the South Island is also implied in a letter to Reay written by the Bishop of Waiapu in September 1846, suggesting his removal to Hicks Bay. "I value your zeal and ability as a Missionary as to wish that you may be placed in one of the most important of the Mission stations."[2] The greener pastures and larger flock did not attract Reay from his South Island station, since in his view "as connected with the best interests of the Aborigines,"[3] his post was more important than that at Hicks' Bay.

The Church Missionary Society "at home," intent as it was on maintaining the faith pure and undefiled, showed a curious ignorance, despite reports from New Zealand, of the actual situation there. Maori catechists were debarred from ordination, and yet there was no prospect of a band of qualified Christian teachers being sent from England. Reay had no wish to keep the rite of ordination sacrosanct to Europeans: those Maoris who were connected with the Church Missionary Society should be admitted to the ministry, "tho' in a lower capacity."[4]

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1. Minutes of District Meeting, Sep 1844.
2. Quoted in a letter of Reay to the Secretary of the C.M.S., 14 Oct 1846.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Conversion to Christianity in the initial phase of missionary-Maori relations meant conversion to the missionaries' goods, to the trappings of their religion, rather than the central message of salvation and atonement. Tuhawaiki asked Watkin for a missionary and a bottle of brandy. He wanted the Book and the Bottle, but showed no signs of contrition for his sins.[1] Ironside, reporting on his Circuit in 1843 says that there were many heathen in the district around Pelorous River, where a Maori, David Beecham and his wife, Priscilla were earnestly exhorting them to be saved. The Maoris were quite unmoved by these entreaties: "They say that when they can have a Preacher for themselves they will then consider the matter."[2]

But there is evidence to suggest that this attitude was not confined to the earliest years of missionary enterprise. Some of the principal Maoris kept up a long term policy of 'reversible conversion' in the period after 1844. In September 1842 a man was received into the hospital at Nelson which had commenced soon after Reay's arrival. The ailing man, Paremata, was under close observation by the many friends and relatives who came to visit him. Since he had been an opponent of the gospel Reay was aware that his recovery would be a major triumph for the Church of

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1. Journal of Watkin, 4 June 1842.
2. Letter of Ironside, 7 Jan 1843.

England cause. If Paremata was converted, as seemed likely, this would probably lead to the conversion of most of his people.[1] But Paremata was wildly erratic in his attitude to the peace that passeth all understanding. In January 1845 Reay had to intervene to prevent a threatened collision between the settlers of Wakatu and a small group of people at Wakapuanga, instigated by Paremata.[2] Three years later Bishop Selwyn met Paremata who was now on very friendly terms with the English settlers, "having learned the benefits of intercourse with us."[3] An accommodating Maori could adjust his attitude towards the European to suit the occasion; his 'conversion' was an adaptation to the sophistication of the white man.

Reay placed great emphasis on the importance of education. The "harvest" of souls was good, but ignorant faith, however ardent, could never secure the Maoris' position in a European New Zealand. An Anglican, Reay was less devoted than the Wesleyans to the idea that the test of spiritual success was the obvious evidences of grace - the effusion of testimonies, the keeping of Sunday. In 1847 in his final assessment of his district he counted not baptisms and marriages but "good readers", of whom he numbered 410 out of a total Maori population (excluding Motueka, and perhaps 50 omissions) of 1,063.[4] Reay speaks

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1. Journal of Reay, 16 Sep 1842.
2. Ibid., Jan 1845.
3. Selwyn, Part v, p. 64, 1847.
4. Journal of Reay, May 1847.

of the desire to civilize the Maoris as a part of their conversion into a Christian people. He envisaged the Maoris receiving a Christian education, taught at schools established in central positions, and the responsibility, not of the Church nor of private individuals, but of the Government.[1] Maoris who could read and write were as eager to teach as they had been to learn:

> But will this peculiar school system stand when the teachers shall have taught all that they know is it not possible that many may be discouraged and thus the distant spots fall back into their previous ignorance?[2]

Reay saw the disadvantages of disunion, whether racial or religious. Education of the Maoris he said should be in English, and where European schools already existed as at Nelson, he suggested that they should be open to the admission of Maori children.[3] Religious unity meant for Reay, as for all the missionaries, unity under his own denomination. In 1847 he considered that there was a good chance of the Church of England controlling Maori education in the north of the South Island since Wesleyan Maoris were only a small proportion of the

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1. Reay to Governor Grey, received 2 Apr 1847.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

native population.[1]

The success or failure of the missionaries in both Otago and the Cook Strait area of the South Island depended chiefly on two factors - the aim that they set, and the availability of European goods, especially books. The biblical text "Ask, and it shall be given you..." was not solely applicable to the Maoris. Their conversion to Christianity was an extension of the westernization accomplished in the pre-missionary era. The Maoris accommodated themselves to missionary expectations.

Reay was more aware than the Wesleyans of the implications of Britain's annexation of New Zealand. Organized colonization meant that the South Island Maoris, comparatively few in number, must adapt themselves to living in a pakeha New Zealand or be relegated to a permanently inferior position. With this in mind Reay spent his energy in promoting Maori education in the English language. His work was geared to the future, for even if the spiritual work of the mission declined, the Maoris would be able more readily to adjust themselves to living in a European environment.

To the Wesleyans education was important, but always unsatisfactory if it was not accompanied by "something more."[2] The burden of evangelism with which they were

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1. Ibid.
2. Journal of Watkin, 16 May 1842.

charged committed them to preach salvation to the heathen. If they could have evangelized the Maoris free of the embarrassing presence of other Europeans there would have been no bar to their success. But their task, the preaching of a European message to the Maoris who could see Europeans flouting it on every hand, was impossible.

A Maori converted under Wesleyan preaching must renounce the wiles of the white man, and confess himself redeemed from the darkness of heathendom. He was a man who belonged neither to the days when the Maoris had roamed the mountains and tussock lands, nor to the encroaching era of roads and committees. The missionaries themselves saw the dilemma. In the end Watkin,[1] Ironside[2] and Aldred[3] all requested or begged the Secretaries to send them home, and Creed, who had begun his work in such hope was forced to admit, "Sometimes I feel as though I should be obliged to give up the work."[4]

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1. Letter of Watkin, 5 Feb 1842. Watkin's entreaties for removal were incessant.
2. Letter of Ironside, 6 Dec 1854.
3. Aldred to the Rev. Bunting, 15 Feb 1848.
4. Journal of Creed, 11 Aug 1851.

CHAPTER III : ITINERANTS AND BISHOPS.

> But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.
>
> 1 Corinthians 1:27.

1. Itinerant Maori Preachers.

Early missionaries in the South Island found that Maori preachers had been before them - voices in the wilderness preparing their fellow-men for the European gospel.

The advent of Christianity in the South Island seemed to show that indeed,

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform.

The conversion of the Canterbury Maoris was an indirect result of Te Rauparaha's sack of Kaiapoi in 1831. The Maoris he captured and carried north heard the gospel from Octavius Hadfield and his fellow-workers in the late 1830's.[1] At first Te Rauparaha's chiefs and warriors rejected the gospel of peace, since acceptance of it would deprive them of *mana*. Koro, one of the captive Maoris, recounted to Canon Stack years afterwards a dramatic incident that displayed God's power and changed the chiefs'

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1. Stack, "Maori History of Banks Peninsula", *Tales of Banks Peninsula*, (Jacobson), 47.

minds. A tohunga who placed a curse on Hadfield was quietly rebuked by the minister with a quotation from Scripture. As he spoke the bell rang for evening prayer and the chief fell dead, spouting blood from his mouth.[1] If Koro was not exaggerating the coincidence of these events Hadfield was in a position no less favourable than Elijah on Mount Carmel to cry; "choose you this day whom ye will serve."

Whether in startled response to Jehovah's bared arm, or less spectacularly at the hand of Hadfield and men like Tame Naera, Tamihana and Te Whiwhi,[2] Te Rauparaha's warriors were converted and placed themselves under Hadfield's instruction to be prepared for baptism. As proof of their sincerity they released their Ngaitahu captives, who had been a source of cheap labour, and even assisted them to return home.[3] This was indeed a triumph for Christianity, a religion which could "change ferocious cannibals into gentle and courteous Christians...".[4] Released from the shackles of sin and the Ngatitoa, the South Islanders returned and became a medium for the rapid, if confused spread of Christian doctrines.

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1. Stack, Koro, pp. 18-19.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
3. Stack, "Maori History of Banks Peninsula", Tales of Banks Peninsula, (Jacobson), 47.
4. Stack, More Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack (ed. Reed, A.), 114.

Te Rauparaha's freed captives were not the only emissaries of Christianity on the east coast of the South Island. One of the many Maoris who went to Australia in whaling vessels in the 1830's was the chief Karetai (Jacky White). During one of his visits he spent a year with his wife at Parramatta where they received Christian instruction from the Rev. Samuel Marsden. When Tamihana was on his South Island journey in 1843 Karetai who, in wars against Te Rauparaha had been lamed for life, demonstrated his change of heart by entertaining the old cannibal's missionary son.[1]

Tamihana and Te Whiwhi, better instructed than the Ngaitahu converts, travelled extensively in the southern islands. It is not certain how long they were away from the North Island. Tamihana says one year;[2] Bishop Selwyn, fourteen months;[3] and Canon Stack, two years.[4] Writing in March 1844 Shortland says that "very lately"[5] both the Rev. Hadfield and the Rev. Ironside had sent young men to the south to instruct and convert their countrymen. From this we may take their visit to have been any time in 1843. It is clear though, that however

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1. Ibid., pp. 114-15.
2. Quoted in Fairclough, P., The Early Missions in Otago, 25.
3. Selwyn, Part iv, p. 17.
4. Stack, "The Sacking of Kaiapohia", The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha, (ed. Travers, F.), 244.
5. Shortland to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.

brief the Maori missionaries' stay they were spectacularly effective. The dynamism of the convert did its work and the books the teachers brought inaugurated a new era.

Fired with passion and instructed in the tenets of Christianity as they were, Tamihana and Te Whiwhi were, nevertheless, comparatively recent converts. On Banks Peninsula Tamihana, who accompanied Bishop Selwyn in 1844, surveyed a pa that had been seized by his father, Te Rauparaha. As he described the glorious attack Tamihana seemed imbued with more of the old heathenish cannibalistic spirit than with the character befitting a Christian. The fervent voice and glowing eyes unnerved even Selwyn, and brought from his a reproof.[1] Because his ardour for the gospel of peace was so far from the thirst for blood that had characterized his background Tamihana was in greater danger than most Maoris of toppling into, and propagating error. But any Maori converted to Christianity could not simply forget his ingrained dread of the atua of his tribe.[2] If a place or object had been tapu before it ill behoved a man, though he was now a professing Christian, to ignore that tapu. D. Monro and his party waited until long after dark at a place that "happened to be tabooed,"[3] before the

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1. Shortland, Southern Districts, pp. 273-74.
2. Ibid., Appendix III.
3. Quoted in Hocken, 256.

Maori with them would smoke, or permit them to light a fire.

The presence of Wesleyan Maoris in places visited by Tamihana and Te Whiwhi meant that sectarian divisions flourished as fast as converts were made. Shortland found for instance, that divisions between the two religious parties on Banks Peninsula were quite clear-cut in 1844.[1] Since his baptism by Watkin in 1842 Taawao had used Port Levy as a base for Wesleyan preaching.[2] Tamihana and Te Whiwhi followed as emissaries of the Church of Pahia - the name of the Church Missionary Society's headquarters in the Bay of Islands.[3] Further Shortland found that after a year or two of phenomenal success abuses were being discovered. Some Maori preachers, seeing the possibility of amassing considerable wealth, had constituted themselves priests and raised a considerable income in iron-pots, boxes, blankets, and firearms as fees for performing Church ceremonies.[4]

On the West Coast of the South Island explorers found, as missionaries and other observers had elsewhere, that the Gospel was flourishing. Heaphy and Brunner on their journey from Massacre Bay to Arahura in 1846, found

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1. Shortland, Southern Districts, 258.
2. Taylor, 124.
3. Shortland, Southern Districts, 258.
4. Ibid., pp. 267-68.

that the Church of England and the Church of Wesley had fallen on fruitful ground in territory that could hardly have seemed less promising. Near Cape Foulwind they met a Maori by the name of Aperahama (Abraham), who had never before seen a white man, and was amazed that any could have found his way from Nelson to that place. Aperahama was on his way to Nelson to have his son and daughter baptized by the Church of England missionary there.[1] At the Totara River in May the exploring party met fifteen more Maoris from the Arahura who were also going to Nelson to be baptized, but by the Wesleyan minister.[2]

These trekking pilgrims were representative of the attitude towards Christianity of the Maoris of the Arahura country. All whom the explorers met professed Christianity and labelled themselves 'Church' or Wesleyan, although they did not seem to understand the differences between the two.[3] According to Heaphy their answers to questions about religion were "most absurd," and their combination of Christianity with old superstitions "most deplorable...".[4] And yet there is no doubt that Christianity, in one of its forms had converted them. As in other parts of the South

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1. Journal of Heaphy, 26 Apr 1846, Op. cit., 223.
2. Ibid., 7 May 1846, p. 230.
3. Journal of Heaphy, 26 Apr 1846, Op. cit., 223.
4. Ibid.

Island the Maoris had seen the value of literacy. Bibles and prayer books were penetrating down the coast, and some Maoris could read and write, although their only instructors had been occasional visitors from the north, or from the east coast of the Island.[1]

The conversion of the Poutini Maoris was an indirect result of the Christianization of the Nelson Maoris, and of the bringing of news from other places which accompanied the exchange of that peculiarly mobile stone, pounamu. Aperahama returned from Nelson after his baptism by Reay with a young man[2] to carry on the work of the Church of England among his people until a European missionary could visit them.[3] While at Port Levy in 1845 Creed baptized a young man from the West Coast who reported that the Poutini Maoris had been waiting for three or four years for a missionary to visit them.[4]

Kehu, Heaphy and Brunner's guide, and the other Maori in the party, having had more experience of the white man's ways were more sophisticated than the West Coast Maoris. And yet their behaviour when they met Maweka, Kehu's half-brother, and six other Maoris on 7 May

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1. Ibid., 7 May 1846, p.229-30.
2. Reay gives his name as Libni.
3. Journal of Reay, 25 May 1846.
4. Journal of Creed, 26 Nov 1845.

1846 showed that their attitude to Christianity was still fundamentally different from that of the Europeans. The sound of Kehu and his friends, seismic with laughter, reciting morning service, litanies, Psalms, creeds, and the marriage service with huge gusto, night after night, seemed to the Europeans, at the least, irreverent. The Maoris enjoyed the new religion; they liked to argue and chant, but they did not hold "the beautiful church service"[1] in awe. Christianity they viewed as something that could be incorporated into their old religion. The gay abandon with which they embraced it was not so much a forsaking of sins, as an entering into their inheritance. It was this that was disturbing to Europeans. Where the Maori should have been humbly repenting, he was eagerly advertising the merits of his particular brand of the Gospel.

The rigid adherence to one denomination or the other provided the small scattered tribal remnants with the psychological support of an intimate group.[2] But this was not the only element in the growth of sectarianism, since in some settlements all but a few Maoris would belong to one Church. There were twenty-four Maoris at Taramakau, of whom twenty were of the Church, and four Wesleyan.[3]

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1. Journal of Heaphy, 7 May 1846, Op. cit., 229.
2. Ausubel, D., Maori Youth, 71.
3. Journal of Brunner, Op. cit., 286.

Of the twenty Maoris at the mouth of the Mawhera River, all but two were Wesleyans.[1]

In the south at Okarito Brunner found six Maoris "- two men and four women, who are of the Wesleyan Church, and very punctual, and apparently very zealous in their worship."[2] The incongruity of tiny groups of Maoris isolated by mountain, rain-drenched bush, and stormy seas, devoting themselves with industry and non-comprehension to worship in the ways of a race most had never seen, did not fail to astonish the European explorers.[3] Although the marked division between Anglicans and Wesleyans aroused animosity, it was temporarily a source of strength to Christianity on the West Coast. Each small group had a flag to defend, a vested interest in the new literate religion that had reached them. Free of European interference they could work out their own salvation, however wierd and unorthodox the result might appear to observers.

Where there was a craving for the Gospel in the 1840's the work of native preachers accounts for much of it. Where there was also sectarian division there they had been, as Shortland said, "proselyte making with more of the native than Christian spirit."[4] The Maoris

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1. Ibid., 284.
2. Ibid., 22 Oct 1847, p. 289.
3. Ibid., 31 Oct 1847, p. 290.
4. Shortland to the Chief Protector, 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.

"addicted like Scotchmen or Abyssinians to wrangle upon points of dogma",[1] discussed the relative merits of Wetere and Pahia with astuteness and gusto. To an extent sectarianism provided a substitute for tribal loyalties, but the flurry and the din which issued from two rival iron pots at Moeraki[2] did not mean that the division between 'Church' and Wesleyan Maoris was deep-rooted. In the pre-missionary era sectarianism aroused the Maoris from torpor and lassitude to defend an ideal. But when Archdeacon's Paul and Mathias visited Akaroa in 1850 the Maoris, many of whom had had their children baptized before by clergymen of various denominations flocked to have it done again, to make all sure.[3]

2. Bishop Pompallier and Bishop Selwyn.

> We take our natures, characters, dispositions, and even habits with us round the world, and land them, as surely as our bodies, wherever our destinies may be cast....
>
> Mrs. Charles Thomson,[4] Twelve Years in Canterbury, New Zealand, 2.

It was the clash between European missionaries of different creeds that confused the Maoris' loyalties, and showed the inexpediency of sending missionaries of

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1. Crawford, J., Travels in Australia and New Zealand, 353.
2. Shortland, Southern Districts, 136.
3. Jacobson, 121.
4. Arrived in Canterbury on board the Hampshire, May 1853.

different denominations among the same tribes. If the Maoris, so recently converted to the new faith, changed their allegiance it did not simply mean that they were fickle, but that they wanted to try everything that was going. The brighter the novelty the more eager were they to see the "new things".[1] Of the sights that dazzled the two brightest were in the shape of bishops. A brief survey of the contacts of each with the Maoris will show the nature of their influence, and its effect on the work of the permanent missions.

In January 1838 Bishop Pompallier arrived at Hokianga, and in a temporary chapel erected a portable altar and a statue of the Virgin for the celebration of his first New Zealand Mass on 13 January.[2] Two years later funds received from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the arrival of two priests, Fathers Tripe and Pezant, and two catechists, Brothers Bertrand and Duperron, made it possible for him to arrange for the founding of a South Island mission. The site was Akaroa where France hoped to establish a colony of which Captain Lavaud would be King's Commissioner.[3]

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1. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 127.
2. Keys, L., The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier, pp. 91-2.
3. Ibid., 148.

On 27 July 1840 Fathers Comte and Pezant and Brother Florentin set sail for Akaroa, followed in September by Bishop Pompallier and Father Tripe. From Akaroa Bishop Pompallier, with Fathers Comte and Pezant, sailed for Otago in the newly blessed schooner Sancta Maria to seek spiritual possessions. From the masthead flew a white flag bearing a blue cross and the monogram of Mary. This was no poor struggling, poverty-stricken mission, but a confident and well-equipped contingent, with a vessel freed from dues by the English authorities and granted special protection by the French.[1]

In his Instructions for the Labours of the Mission Bishop Pompallier portrayed the Maori character, especially in its less desirable aspects, and explained how the native people were to be approached. The chief fault of the Maori, revealing itself in many forms, was pride. It made him covet European dress and goods; parade his titles and possessions; and crave the favour of influential people.[2] This characteristic of the Maoris was a pathetic attempt to get from the white man the mana that had so swiftly and mysteriously departed from his race. The

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1. Ibid., pp. 151-2. Pompallier regretted his shortage of men and money, but he was in a much better position in these respects than Watkin.
2. Ibid., 97.

attitude the Bishop recommended could hardly restore self-respect and confidence. "Treat the natives with manly, indulgent kindness...".[1] Wielding this paternal authority, the missionary should, without arrogance, show the Maoris that he was superior in culture, while seeking their temporal and spiritual welfare.

The contrast between Watkin, steeling himself against despair in the face of popish encroachments, and Father Tripe, occupying himself pleasantly back at the Roman Catholic home-base at Akaroa, illustrates the different approach to the South Island of the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics. Watkin writhed beneath the burden of evangelism, while Tripe conducted a company of musicians for the celebration of the All Saints Festival, and enjoyed the cries and warblings of the birds. As he said in a letter to a friend in France:

> ...having for parishioners about sixty French settlers and the crews of two French ships... One would say that I am not destined to be a missionary...".[2]

Bishop Pompallier was not encouraged by the religious condition of the Otago natives. In his view itinerant Maori preachers had spread nothing but heresy, leading the Maoris "to embrace the sects of error."[3]

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1. Ibid., 86.
2. Ibid., 153.
3. Pompallier, J., Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania, 69.

He found, as Shortland had in Canterbury, that abuses were abroad. Native teachers had been saying that Christian books were charms which would protect their owners from evil.

> I set myself therefore to work in Otago to undeceive the people about the falsehoods that had been told them. They saw at once the abuse that had been made of their ignorance and credulity.[1]

Three days after his arrival in Otago the Bishop performed his first baptisms. He and his men instructed the Otago Maoris and those from Ruapuke, taught them to make the sign of the Cross and say Catholic prayers, and distributed their prayer books. All the Maoris of the place were at Mass on 22 November, and they begged Pompallier to leave a priest among them. 'Wetere' and 'Church' temporarily lost their significance for the Maoris who had previously defended them with vigour. Their sectarian loyalties were not centred on dogma, but on the man who preached it, and the books he brought. The Bishop earnestly wished that he could comply with the Maoris' request, especially as he knew that Watkin had come to the area "to settle himself in the establishment of a rich farmer...".[2]

At Moeraki the Maoris performed dances for the Bishop, and pressed him to say whether they offended

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

against morals. Since he had quite enjoyed the entertainment, and had no idea what the movements signified, Pompallier was loath to commit himself. "They were half naked, but nothing actually thoroughly immodest came under my notice."[1] However when the Maoris explained the dances he perceived that the gestures and symbols in them had the same meaning as many of those in the festivals of the pagan Greeks and Romans. This insight would certainly have surprised the Rev. T. Buddle who, from the existence of many Jewish customs concluded that the Maoris were descendants of Abraham or of a race closely related to the Hebrews.[2] When Bishop Pompallier explained the underlying meaning of their dancing to the Maoris they agreed to stop doing it.[3] The only other requirements were that they should worship the true God and apply themselves to Christian learning.

Apart from advantages in man-power, money, transport and language the Roman Catholics had the lustre of colourful vestments, and the attraction of a wider gate into their ranks. They did not agonize to see evidences of the elusive "something more",[4] or stress Sunday as a

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1. Ibid., 70.
2. LT 10 May 1851.
3. Pompallier, 70.
4. Journal of Watkin, 16 May 1842.

day of rest. The Maoris under Wesleyan influence had quickly embraced the idea of keeping the sabbath day holy, but their allegiance was not constant. Unlike the old tapus the new Wesleyan ones were dispensable if a more attractive envoy of the Cross gave licence. The Roman Catholics were undoubtedly right in saying that whales seen in the harbour on Sunday ought to be captured if possible, as they would not wait until Monday.[1] They were indeed better anthropologists than the Wesleyans, since they were not embarrassed with the burden of changing the Maori's way of life as part of his redemption.

Men who had devoted their lives in response to God's call to preach the Gospel to every creature could not be blamed for feeling that they alone were the special messengers of the Almighty. Pompallier regretted that sects separated from the Church should be propagating error among the Maoris.[2] Watkin on the other hand despised Roman Catholic efforts to win the Maoris by what seemed to him obsequious and ingratiating means. He jealously guarded his territory against the prying eyes and tampering hands of the papists. The sense of mission, of having been chosen for the lonely and difficult task of seeking

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1. Letter of Watkin, 5 Feb 1842.
2. Quoted in Keys, 159.

the lost girded Watkin against despair. That the battle was not his own gave him greater reason for defending the small and barren corner that was his responsibility.

Despite the initial success of the Roman Catholic mission it did not become established. Bishop Pompallier and his companions left no resident missionary at Otago; and Father Tripe, missing the song of the nightingale at Akaroa, was not committed to evangelize the natives. Creed had good reason to be glad that by late 1845 the Romish cause had "nearly diminished into nothing...".[1] We have a similar testimony from Shortland, a more impartial observer. In 1844 he observed that only a few Maoris on Banks Peninsula were Roman Catholics.[2]

Bishop Pompallier had taken the eagerness with which he was received in Otago as evidence of a general loyalty to his Church. In an expansive mood he estimated the population of the South Island at five or six thousand, and added; "All these people flocked to the Mother Church."[3] In fact the influence of his visit on the South Island Maoris was slight because it was so brief. In 1838 Langlois had negotiated with the Maoris at Akaroa for the purchase of the whole of Banks Peninsula. When Captain

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1. Journal of Creed, 6 Oct 1845.
2. Shortland to the Chief Protector 18 Mar 1844, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 124.
3. Pompallier, 70.

Lavaud found that there were at least two other European claims to Akaroa and that the Maoris denied having sold the land to the French he wrote to Langlois censuring his handling of the situation. His words might have been written as a criticism of the French Mission as well as of the French land negotiations;

> You have claimed to possess what you did not possess, what you still do not possess, and what you never will be able to possess.[1]

In 1844 Bishop Selwyn made his first great South Island journey. The Bishops described it as a hasty visit to acquaint himself with the state of the Mission, the language and habits of the Maoris, and the nature of the country.[2]

Selwyn's dynamic personality, abounding energy and physical prowess took the Maoris by storm. A Church dignitary might have been expected to arrive in the South Island and wait until the Maoris came to receive his gentle blessings. Not so the Bishop. Shortland met him at Lake Te Whakai-a-kohika, which Selwyn had reached before his Maori companions. After the episcopal party had gone the Maoris of the place, who had never before seen a European missionary, continued to marvel over Te Pihopa. His physical qualities they said must be

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1. Hight and Straubel, 73.
2. Selwyn, Part iv, p.4.

special gifts of God for this work. The Maoris noticed that he had not made any extemporary prayer in his two services, and they concluded that the practice of making long voluntary prayers which their own preachers had followed must be a pokonoa, or unauthorized piece of presumption.[1]

The tragedy of sectarian division in the South Island was that those who understood its consequences most clearly contributed most to the sharpening of the lines. Selwyn deplored the confusion resulting from religious strife and the time "spent in answering unprofitable questions."[2] And yet he himself, by promoting the cause of Anglican Christianity stimulated such "unprofitable questions." He visited Port Levy early in 1844, and before the end of that year both Anglicans and Methodists had erected Maori churches.[3] Selwyn rejoiced that the whole population of the southern islands "almost to a man has at least some regard to the laws of God."[4] His glow of pleasure at any signs of "the good old English feeling"[5] was not mere pique, or a flagrant hoisting of the Anglican flag in the face of the Wesleyans. It rather illuminates his desire to see, not competition and disorganization,

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1. Shortland, Southern Districts, pp. 220-22.
2. Selwyn, Part iii, p. 11.
3. Taylor, 124.
4. Selwyn, Part v, p. 65.
5. Ibid., 57.

but order, good habits and stability. Such a state of affairs he found at Whakaputaputa, the southernmost settlement of the South Island, where Maunsell, a Maori sent by Hadfield was teaching the 130 Maoris of the place. Here there was not the hindrance of rivalry and argument between two religious parties. Fifteen of the Maoris could read well, and the attitude of the population towards Christianity was "most devout and reverential."[1]

Supremely poised as he was Bishop Selwyn, like Bishop Pompallier, tended to disregard the importance of others. Moeraki, he found, had been visited "by the French Bishop, but by no one else, except Mr. Watkins...".[2] When they met on 22 January 1844 Watkin welcomed Selwyn and was impressed by him, but his reserve is scarcely concealed. The Bishop was he says, as Catholic as could be expected from a High Churchman in his position, but he knew little of Wesleyan writings. "He laments disunion, so do I, wishes for union, so do I, but I cannot see how the unity which he wishes can be brought about."[3] This polite but anxious tone is different from Selwyn's laconic entry in his Journal. "In the evening had much conversation with Mr. Watkins on the subject of our

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1. Ibid., Part iii, p. 31.
2. Ibid., 16.
3. Journal of Watkin, 27 Jan 1844.

respective missions."[1] Certainly it was easier to be travelling Bishop than resident missionary.

Sectarianism, which had stimulated the spread of Christianity among the Maoris in the pre-missionary era, became, under European influence, a stumbling block. All of the missionaries, except perhaps Wohlers, contributed to the hardening of the lines, but Selwyn and Pompallier in their role as Bishops were committed even more than men of lower station to propagate their particular branch of the Church. Discussion and the vigorous defence of a point of view were in the Maori tradition of the korero, the meeting for argument over important issues. To the Bishops heresy and disunion were anathema, and they must give way to order and discipline within the fold of the English or Roman Church. They wanted to neaten things up, to make the Maoris understand that prayers and creeds were not ditties with which to pass the time and entertain one's friends and relatives. Their excellent aims, unity and order, in fact deepened existing divisions and the Maoris' confusion, by adding yet another element to their complex conversion to European civilization.

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1. Selwyn, Part iii, p. 18.

Feby stewarts.

CHAPTER IV : RUAPUKE-SOUTHLAND AND THE CHATHAMS.

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...the solitary place shall be glad...

Isaiah 35 : 1.

1. Wohlers at Ruapuke Island.

In 1843 four missionaries of the North German Missionary Society, the Revs. J. Wohlers and his three companions, Riemenschneider, Trost and Heine landed at Nelson to commence the work of their Mission[1] in the South Island. They might well have said of the settlement "the fishing isn't so good",[2] for here already established were colonists and missionaries, one Episcopalian and one Wesleyan.[3]

Since there seemed little scope for converting the heathen under such circumstances, Wohlers, in company with Tuckett (a Quaker) and Creed (the Wesleyan missionary for Waikouaiti) sailed south to search for a more fruitful field. An incident on the journey displays the

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1. The North German Missionary Society.
2. Fairbairn, A.R.D., "I'm Older than You, Please Listen."
3. Abschrift des allgemeinen Tagebuchs der Missionare Wohlers Riemenschneider Trost Heine auf der Neu Zelandes Station in Moutere District. Ms.

spirit of the Lutheran. Wohlers and Creed were lost on Banks Peninsula for three days during which time they ate nothing but a robin, "which by great good luck and dexterity they had managed to entrap."[1] When Creed expressed his fear that they would die wandering on the Peninsula Wohlers repeatedly bolstered his spirits: "'No' - I would always answer him with confidence - 'Our pilgrimage is not at an end yet.'"[2]

Wohlers selected Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait as the site for his mission because it was a meeting place for the southern Maoris[3] and the home of the powerful chief Tuhawaiki. He had met Tuhawaiki at Banks Peninsula and perceived that the Chief was aware of the benefits to be gained from influence with Europeans.

In 1881 Wohlers recalled that he stepped onto Ruapuke Island with nothing but a carpet bag and a pair of blankets.[4] This attractive picture of a man utterly careless of earthly possessions is modified in his memoirs where fowling equipment, an axe, a sack of flour, and some salt are added to the luggage.[5] However Wohlers

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1. NE 20 Jul 1844.
2. Wohlers, Memories, pp. 93-4.
3. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 123.
4. Ibid.
5. Wohlers, Memories, 102.

found that he was tolerated and even honoured by the Maoris, despite his impoverished circumstances and his incomplete and faulty knowledge of the language.[1] It was no doubt at Tuhawaiki's instigation that his relatives welcomed Wohlers and entertained him in the Chief's house for several days. They were not clean, and Wohlers could have been excused expressions of disgust. Instead, he graciously accepted the salutations of the Maoris, while realizing that this state of affirs could not last long, "or I should lose my civilization."[2]

Wohlers found about 200 Maoris living on Ruapuke, and perhaps another 400 in small villages on the coasts and islands in the Strait.[3] Those on Ruapuke Island were living under very poor conditions by European standards. As Wohlers saw it their moral fibre had been decaying over several generations. Unlike Colenso, who viewed tapu as a source of order,[4] and Watkin, who writhed under its withering influence,[5] Wohlers saw tapu as a shallow-rooted excrescence that had become increasingly

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1. Journal of Wohlers, Dec 1844, Ms.
2. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 125.
3. Ibid., 128.
4. Colenso, 40.
5. Journal of Watkin, 11 June 1842.

resorted to as the Maoris had lost their hold on the "poetical and sublime ideas of their ancient religion"[1] and sunk into cannibalism.

Evidences of the Maoris' spiritual decay were everywhere. Wohlers considered that the tattoos on some of the very old Maoris were artistic in design, but the young women merely smeared their faces with the juices of red berries.[2] This cultural and spiritual decadence also had its effect on the bodily constitution of the Maoris. The tapu was intimately connected with sickness and death, and could be laid by high ranking Maoris on any thing, by naming it with deceased members of the chief's family.[3] This frequent resort to the tapu partly accounts for the fact that Wohlers found the people of the south to be "already in extinction."[4] From a register kept year by year he discovered that for every child born three or four people died.[5]

Although the Maoris in the south were rude and ignorant they were not all heathen.[6] Great changes had taken place under the impact of North Island Maoris who had travelled extensively in the South Island preaching

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1. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 128.
2. Ibid., 126.
3. Ibid., 128.
4. Journal of Wohlers, 25 Jul 1845.
5. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 126.
6. Wohlers, Memories, 103.

the Gospel. The southern Maoris were no longer cannibalistic and had become more gentle and peaceful, although Wohlers adds, this tendency may have been merely the result of their enervation rather than an outward sign of the new heart.[1] Native preachers had brought not only the good news but the good Book, the miracle thing that could talk without talking.[2] Some of the young people were beginning to read and write, though without much real understanding.[3]

Wohlers was not deluded by his cordial reception at Ruapuke. He understood that as a foreigner he was welcome: as a missionary he was of no importance to the Maoris.[4] Those who had been converted by native emissaries of the Gospel were either of Wesley or Pahia, and Wohlers was wise enough not to add to the strife by entering his denomination to the field. When the Maoris asked him whether Anglican or Wesleyan was best he replied, not that Lutheran was better, but that they were both churches of Jesus Christ;[5] but privately he thought the ultimate solution would be the acceptance by all evangelical missionary societies of the principles of the London

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1. Journal of Wohlers, 27 Jul 1845.
2. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 125.
3. Journal of Wohlers, 27 Jul 1845.
4. Wohlers, Memories, 106.
5. Ibid., 110.

and North German Societies, and the refraining from introducing differences stemming from history that would confuse the heathen.[1] This from a Lutheran.

Wohlers began with humility and grace the long round of preaching, teaching and journeying that was to occupy his many years at Ruapuke. The Maoris were dirty, and where two or three were gathered together there fleas were a menace. Instead of lamenting his lot Wohlers took steps to improve living conditions. The floor that he made in his new house, and the private sleeping place he partitioned off,[2] were not a pharisaical gathering of skirts, but a matter of minimum hygiene and comfort.

Although the Maoris' temporal affairs were in a poor state Wohlers saw no point in continual "washing and combing"[3] in an attempt to civilize the Maoris before converting them. In his letters to the Secretaries of the North German Missionary Society in Hamburg he tried to explain how the Maoris had adopted the outward forms of Christianity and the denominational labels, without having much spiritual understanding. In Christian knowledge they were far behind children at home, since

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1. Ibid., 111.
2. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 125.
3. Ibid., 128.

the Gospel was such a new thing to them, whereas the simplest German child was brought up hearing it from parents or grandparents. The Maoris thought that the whole art of prayer was in putting the hands over the eyes, and that to know the Creed was to be ready for baptism.[1] It was difficult to instruct them in Christianity because of the semantic problem: many words of crucial importance were not in the Maori language, and words close in meaning were often quite different in emphasis. Hara (nothingness) was the word they used for 'sin'. But in the Maori view acts of violence were only sins if they disturbed the internal life of the community. Practised against strangers they were praiseworthy.[2]

At Ruapuke, largely because of its insularity and the influence of Chief Tuhawaiki, the remnants of a communal culture were still intact. Only after he had conducted his first baptisms of two women - one old and sick, the other the wife of an Irishman - did Wohlers discover that such ministrations should be undertaken only with the approval of the whole community. However in this case there was no trouble, as the first was looked on as a baptism of necessity, and the second woman was the wife of a European, and therefore not under tribal control.

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1. Journal of Wohlers, 27 Jul 1845.
2. Wohlers, Memories, 151.

But until Maori preachers came from further north to give their sanction there was hesitation before more baptisms could proceed.[1] Wohlers did not resent this overriding of his authority, or remark on the ignorance and errors of the Maori teachers who came to give their opinion. They were, he said, passionately earnest, and "the deep longing for holiness... had more or less taken hold of their hearts."[2]

For a while the newly baptized people continued to attend separate Wesleyan and Anglican services in their own villages. Wohlers did not preach against this practice, although it was a barrier to unity and progress. Characteristically he took a positive approach. After kneeling under a bush and dedicating the spot to God Wohlers began cutting the short and crooked trunks from the nearby woods. Since the Maoris would not work without te utu, and Wohlers had no money, he laboured on the church building alone in between his journeys to the scattered villages on the coasts and islands. When he received a gift of tobacco from Tuckett, the Otago land-surveyor, he used it to pay a few Maoris to thatch the roof and walls. In 1846 the Church was dedicated in a solemn service which greatly impressed the Maoris.[3]

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1. Ibid., 146.
2. Ibid., 149.
3. Ibid., pp. 153-55.

Wohlers was supplying the symbolic quality that had been lost from their ancient religion.

As the news of the baptisms on Ruapuke spread many boats came with anxious inquirers to see the "new things."[1] Wohlers made them stay for at least a week for instruction and to test their sincerity before they were baptized. This was a commendable idea, but we need not wonder if most of the villages which turned to Christianity were confused in their conversion.

On his journeys around the southern coasts of the Middle Island Wohlers found that living conditions there compared very badly with Ruapuke. Food was not stored, and during bad weather or when the sea was too rough for the men to go out fishing the people subsisted on dry potatoes and water. The hovels in which the Maoris lived were overcrowded, especially during the missionary's visits when people flocked to see him. There were few children, and those that there were had a dirty flaccid look.[2]

In general conditions were better on Ruapuke Island, especially among pakeha-Maori families.

> Surely a friend of flowers wandering through a waste country, where only a few stunted plants were growing, and thinking to himself there might be green leaves and bright flowers here, but there were none, and who found a rosebush full of buds and roses just opening

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1. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, 127.
2. Wohlers, Memories, pp. 157-61.

> to the light of the sun, could feel no greater joy than a loving heart must feel at the sight of those lovely children... .[1]

In Wohlers' opinion white men at Ruapuke had been a leaven instead of a cancer: far from hastening the dying out of the Maoris they had, under God's hand given them an additional day of grace.[2] Bishop Selwyn's view of these Maori-European unions was not so happy. The Maori women living with Englishmen on Stewart Island were in a most unhappy state of ignorance and the husbands were "generally unable to communicate with their wives, except on the most ordinary matters of daily life."[3] However since half-caste children usually spoke both languages they would be able to instruct their mothers. While Wohlers is a little inclined to "colouring"[4] it is clear that these 'permanent' Maori-pakeha unions at Ruapuke and Stewart Islands were less destructive to the Maori way of life than the fluctuating and intermittent intercourse at most of the South Island settlements.

Wohlers was not so bent on converting the Maoris that he could see little use for other activities. Many of the Maoris had accepted Christianity before he came,

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1. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, pp. 127-8.
2. Ibid., 134.
3. Selwyn, Part iii, p. 27.
4. Letter of Watkin, Dec 1843.

but their acceptance had been purely external.[1] Their spiritual blindness and ignorance of European civilization could only be remedied by education. Wohlers perceived that so long as the Maoris could not read the colonial newspapers they must remain the inferior race.[2] At first however it was difficult to prevail on his Maoris to assist in carrying the materials for a school building to the chosen spot. Only the personal exertions of Wohlers, and the idea that they would be recompensed for their labour, at last induced them to undertake the task.[3]

The success of a man who laboured in apostolic simplicity for many years, preaching, teaching and working with his hands for the necessities of life, is not easy to gauge. Wohlers' Journal is a record, not only of the Mission and of the Ruapuke Maoris, but of a man, compassionate, urbane and witty. Parts of it might have been written not by a missionary living amongst dirt and fleas on a remote island, but by a monk tending his crops and herbs in a French monastery. Wohlers made detailed charts

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1. Journal of Wohlers, 27 Jul 1845.
2. Wohlers, Conversion and Civ. of the Maoris in the South, pp. 131-32.
3. Memorandum of Alexander Mackay, 1868, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 150.

of day to day weather conditions, and sketches, not only of mission buildings, but of mountains and coastlines. He talks of flowers, crops and cows, and of New Zealand pigs which were small and black compared with the big and rosy ones in Germany.

These delightful observations were made amid loneliness and poverty. Wohlers was constantly reminded by his creditors of his debts, while the North German Missionary Society, despite great promises sent him no money. Instead of the annual income of £45 sterling promised him in 1846 the Society sent, in 1848, a proud missionary by the name of Honoré. The newcomer had been rejected in love by a rich Danish girl, and had decided to become a missionary instead.[1] Even more galling than Honoré's brash attitude was the news he brought from home. He said that as it was thought in Hamburg that the New Zealand mission did not cost any money the East Indian mission had taken all they had.[2]

On Easter Sunday 1850 the mission house at Ruapuke Island was burnt to the ground, leaving Wohlers and his wife with no possessions but the clothes they wore, and

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1. Wohlers to the Secretaries of the North German Missionary Society, 1850.
2. Wohlers, Memories, 170.

even those were full of burn holes. Wohlers' weariness and discouragement are revealed in his report of this disaster. When he had first come to Ruapuke he had been full of zeal, could work hard on little food during the day and study at night. Now he sighed at his work since continual physical work had sapped his spiritual energy.[1]

"Only German persistence could endure this outpost."[2] So wrote Wohlers at the end of his account of the fire. Under the circumstances this remark does not appear an idle boast. Wohlers records that he had often been tempted to give up the work, especially when his creditors had pressed him for payment, but the blessing of God was visibly upon the mission despite the great difficulties.[3]

2. The Chatham Islands.

In the 1830's varied reports on the Chatham Islands were being circulated in New Zealand. The Islands were said to be the resort of a variety of European riff-raff-bay-whalers, ship-wrecked sailors, deserters, and escaped convicts from Sydney and Hobartown; and the Maoris were reported as being fierce and cannibalistic. But for the

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1. Wohlers to the Secretaries, 1850.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

tough and adventurous spirit there was the lure of a land that was rich and fertile.[1]

European observers in the late 1830's and the 1840's remarked that there were two distinct peoples living on the Chatham Islands; the docile aborigines, and the intractable Maoris. The Morioris were a quiet nomadic people who wandered about in search of herbs and fish, settling for a while where there was firewood and water. Their life was not without a religious and mythical element. They related stories of a fabulous past, and believed with considerable awe and dread in an "undefined"[2] Supreme Being. Unlike the Maoris they had neither songs nor chants.[3]

Jack Coffee, an old sailor who had lived on the Chathams since 1832 recalled that the Morioris were very numerous when he went there. On one occasion he had counted over 1,000 men going along the beach to Waitangi.[4] How he achieved his census we are not told. But scepticism about the statistical accuracy of a sailor's yarn does not lessen the calamitous effect of two great disasters

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1. Hunt, F., Twenty-Five Years' Experience in New Zealand and The Chatham Islands, 23.
2. Journal of Aldred, 21 June 1842. Ms.
3. Mair, G., "Notes on the Chatham Islands and their Inhabitants", TNZI, iii. 311.
4. Ibid.

which struck the Morioris in the 1830's.

About 1834 part of a large Taranaki tribe, the Ngatimutunga,[1] in fear of Te Rauparaha's treachery migrated to the Chatham Islands in the brig Rodney.[2] They paid the captain of the vessel in pigs, potatoes, guns and eight casks of gun-powder. Since they had left the land of war and blood the Maoris thought that they would no longer need the two latter articles. But as in the case of the Ngaitahu and Ngatimamoe over two centuries before,[3] quarrels broke out between Morioris and invaders and the Maoris treated the aborigines with great cruelty.[4] F. Hunt, who went to the Chathams in 1840, said that the Morioris were almost wiped out by the Taranaki Maoris.[5] The remnant were obliged to accept the Maoris as overlords. A common expression that Bishop Selwyn observed when he visited the Chatham Islands in 1848 was "Ngare Paraiwhara," meaning send a Moriori.[6]

As in the South Island, sorrows came to the Chathams

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1. The Rev. J. Aldred records that portions of the "Ngahtama and Kekerewai tribes" came over with the Ngatimutunga.
2. Mackay, "The Traditionary History of the Natives of the South Island", Official Documents re Natives in the South Island, i. 46.
3. See above, Chap. 1, p. 1.
4. Journal of Aldred, 21 June 1842.
5. Hunt, 29.
6. Selwyn, Part v, p. 100.

"not single spies but in battalions".[1] In 1839 a "great mortality"[2] thinned the ranks of both Maoris and Morioris. The epidemic, probably influenza,[3] may have been brought to the Chathams by the Ngatimutunga who had been in contact with Te Rauparaha's warriors in the North Island.[4] Pulmonary diseases had been known in the Chatham Islands before,[5] but the 1839 plague was of a far more serious character. Sometimes as many as forty people died in a day. Gilbert Mair, writing in 1870, estimated that perhaps one third of the Morioris had been slain by the Taranaki tribes, and another half died in the subsequent wave of disease. Mair gained this information in conversation with two or three old men "who did not seem to know much",[6] but other accounts substantiate their rendering. In 1842 the Rev. J. Aldred estimated that there were about 600 Maoris, and a remnant of only 300 Morioris in the Chathams.[7]

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1. Hamlet iv : 5.
2. Hunt, 38.
3. Mair, 311.
4. Hist. Records of N.Z. South, 13. In December 1836 the attacks of the Ngatitoa were protracted by a severe attack of influenza.
5. Hunt, 38.
6. Mair, 311.
7. Journal of Aldred, 21 June 1842.

Aldred, a Wesleyan, was the first missionary to visit the "sunken and degraded"[1] inhabitants of the Chatham Islands. His sermon to the benighted whalers and natives[2] who gathered at Waikeri on his arrival in June 1842 was from John 3 : 16.[3] In characteristic evangelical fashion he plunged straight into the message of salvation, that "whosoever believeth in him should not perish...". The Christian Maoris accompanying Aldred on his visit preached in a similar fashion. They described in the darkest way the sorrow and sin of their old life, and begged the people to embrace Christianity.[4]

Like Wohlers Aldred was welcomed by the natives, not because he was a missionary, but because he was a foreigner. They provided him a house in which to sleep, "thinking I should be less disturbed by those things which annoy; but a variety of quadrupeds in spite of efforts maintained their claim to it."[5]

Although the reception was friendly there was no craving for books, no cry for instruction.[6] The Chathams

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1. Letter of Aldred, 3 Oct 1842.
2. The word 'native' is not in vogue today. It is used in this chapter as a general term to cover Morioris and Maoris.
3. Journal of Aldred, 21 June 1842.
4. Ibid., 22 June 1842.
5. Ibid., 24 June 1842.
6. Ibid.

were as yet untouched by the literary revolution. No Maori teachers had prepared the way for the Word by preaching the Gospel according to Wesley or Te Pihopa. At the village called Te Raparapa Aldred explained the purpose of his visit, and asked if the people were in favour. At first they showed great reserve, but at last discussions began between the Chief Te Mate Kaipu and the missionary. "He asked me if they the children of great me[n] were to forsake those things by wh.[ich] their Fathers acquired them mighty fame...".[1] At Ruapuke Island Maori preachers had converted their fellowmen in the pre-missionary era. In the Chathams, on the other hand, Europeans had prejudiced the natives against missionary exertions.

When he arrived at Ruapuke in 1844 Wohlers found that tribal life had not completely disappeared. The growing and collecting of food was in the hands of the hapu, and important transactions were entered into with the consent of the community. The Chatham Islands in the early 1840's had no unifying tribal framework. The docile aborigines had been first influenced by men who were the scum of European society, and then conquered by North Island tribes and attacked by disease. The

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1. Ibid., 27 June 1842.

Morioris' race was all but run, and the European and Maori inhabitants of the Chathams were an exotic growth without roots in the rich islands they had made their own. Some observers recoiled at the degradation in which they found the natives living. Women tended tapued pigs around the whares, petted them, and in some cases suckled them at their breasts.[1] Aldred was appalled at the results of the drinking of spirits. At one village he came upon twenty intoxicated men and women engaged in a wild brawl.[2]

Wohlers was fêted on his arrival at Ruapuke because Tuhawaiki had intimated to his Maoris what great benefits the white man could bestow. Pomare, the principal chief at the Chatham Islands, had a similar attitude. He told Aldred that he had heard the Gospel from the missionary's Maoris and had no desire to embrace it, "but now... a new teacher had come he would turn to God and pray...".[3] John 3 : 16 had left the natives quite unmoved, but when their Chief gave his approval to the white man they eagerly followed. And identification with the trappings of European civilization, and with the missionary who represented it might well bring in the day of conversion.

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1. Hunt, pp. 26-7.
2. Journal of Aldred, 27 June 1842.
3. Ibid., 28 June 1842.

Aldred had a sympathetic attitude to the natives, without Wohlers' charm. He did not launch into a wholesale condemnation of the Maoris' beliefs and practices. Some of them, such as the belief in rewards and punishments, though heathenish and superstitious, "probably originated in eternal truth...".[1] This conciliatory attitude improved relations with the natives who applied themselves to learning catechisms and hymns.

More remarkable still they 'abandoned' the tapu by a ceremony of their own. Those who were tapued sat down forming a circle. Each held a small branch, and the priest moved around waving his own over their heads, at the same time uttering "an unintelligble prayer the purport of wh.[ich] was to free them according to their usage from the bonds and restraints of that tapu."[2] This remarkable ceremony illustrates both the tolerance and naivety of Aldred. He allowed a heathen ceremony to abolish a heathen rite, but the tapu could not be uprooted so easily.

Aldred had reached the Chatham Islands on 17 June 1842 and he arrived back in Wellington "after a circuitous route"[3] on 2 September. The achievements of a few weeks of missionary labour were necessarily limited. Aldred

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1. Ibid., 9 Jul 1842.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., Sep 1842.

could do no more than superficially acquaint the natives with Christianity. They might superficially renounce the tapu and profess Christianity, but the kiko-kiko was still a spirit to be reckoned with.[1]

Information on the first permanent mission to be established in the Chathams is confined to the reports of Selwyn, who visited the Islands in 1848. In 1846 a German Lutheran party, led by one, Scheiermeister had gone there and commenced the work of their Mission. Apparently these missionaries were not of the same Society as Wohlers. In January 1846 a vessel called at Ruapuke Island. The captain thought that Wohlers was connected with the missionaries on the Chathams for whom he had a quantity of goods. For Wohlers there was absolutely nothing.[2]

Selwyn found the Germans "five gentlemen and three ladies" living frugally, holding all things in common, and engaging in practical as well as religious exercises. In the Bishop's view this indefatigable German devotion could only be improved upon by an infusion of "good old English feeling...".[3] Bent as he was on attaining unity within the Established Church, he again inadvertently promoted division. Since the Church of England could not send a

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1. Hunt, pp. 37-8.
2. Journal of Wohlers, 14 Jan 1846.
3. Selwyn, Part v, p. 106.

permanent missionary to the Chathams, Selwyn had come to invite Scheiermeister to go to Auckland and receive Episcopal ordination. His purpose was to retain the Church of England Maoris[1] within the fold, and to prevent strife between them and the Mission natives.[2]

The failure of these negotiations left Selwyn disappointed and angry. Before he washed his hands of the German Mission and returned to New Zealand he performed his last episcopal acts among the Chatham Island Maoris, the confirmation of a group of natives who had been baptized years before in the North Island, and the baptism of seventy children. The Maoris seemed to him "very ignorant"[3] but earnest in their desire to be instructed.

The contrast between the background of Ruapuke Island and the Chathams is marked, and yet the reaction of Maori to missionary in each place was similar. The rate of this response depended on the extent to which the Maoris had been westernized by contact with Europeans, and whether or not they had been prepared for the coming of European missionaries by preachers of their own race. If rough sailors, ex-convicts, adventurers and converted

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1. The Ngatimutunga had heard the Gospel before they came to the Chathams.
2. Selwyn, Part v, p. 107.
3. Ibid., 109.

Maoris had aroused their desire for European goods and literacy a favourable response to the missionaries was almost guaranteed. The missionary, a single European of culture in a solitary place was the symbol of European civilization.

In the 1840's the Gospel itself, the message of sin, atonement and judgement made little impact on most Maoris. They had been so recently converted to blankets and nails, brandy and rum, that their response to the missionaries could be little more than a conversion to the man, the recitation of the creed and the possession of the Book. The missionaries needed time to establish their work and deepen the Maoris' spiritual understanding. But this most precious commodity was not to be granted them. Their era of greatest opportunity in the 1840's began late, and was cut off by the relentless advance of the Establishment.

CHAPTER V : THE ERA OF COLONIZATION.

> No natives, no poisonous reptiles, fine fertile land, and the finest potatoes and beef I ever ate.
>
> William Westland [wood] ,[1]
> 9 Oct 1848.[2]

The handful of missionaries in the South Island in the 1840's were men of exceptional talents and dedication. Theirs was no pallid unearthly holiness but the zeal of sweat and shirt sleeves as well as sermons. Their journals are full of strong emotions - of searing self reproach and ecstatic gaiety, numb despair and wry wit. Amid the pious platitudes is the record of hardship and sacrifice - of sickness, poverty, loneliness and unremitting labour. Not all the missionaries escaped the temptation of gasping at the barbarous ignorance of the natives and the abominations of heathendom. On the other hand several of them showed remarkable insight and modernity in their attitude to the Maoris. Aldred, for example, reflected that the beliefs of the Chatham Island natives probably originated in "eternal truth"; Selwyn tasted the juice of the ti palm and found it delicious; Reay insisted on education in English as the only adequate preparation for equality

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1. A land-owner in Otago.
2. Earp, G., Hand-Book for Intending Emigrants to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand, 224.

with the Europeans; Ironside and Wohlers worked with the Maoris on their cultivations and buildings during the week as well as offering them Christ's blood on Sunday.

Whether they measured their success by the number of "good readers", or the record of baptisms and marriages, or by the quality of the testimonies at the Lovefeasts, the missionaries had all come to the South Island primarily to preach salvation. But the Maoris did not feel the need to be saved from the wrath to come so much as the urgency of being equipped to cope with the perplexities of the present, and the uncertainties of the future. In a few decades the South Island Maoris had been decimated by war and disease while they were struggling to adjust themselves to a European environment and a set of tawdry European values. Mana had no meaning if a man had no goods, could not read, and belonged to a race on the point of extinction. The Maoris flocked to the missionaries not because they were oppressed with sin, but because of their ignorance, feeling of inferiority and illness.

Wohlers understood that he was welcomed at Ruapuke Island not as a missionary but as a foreigner.[1] In the early years of European contact the Maoris had been fascinated with nails and combs but gradually they became aware that it was not baubles and blankets but books that

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1. See above, Chap. 4, p. 90.

they required. And the missionaries, representing the finest elements in the immigrant culture, could issue and interpret this most significant passport to equality.

Secondly, the missionaries were of functional relevance if they could heal diseases. The cures of the tohunga were as ineffective in combating the European plagues as were the old tapus laid on spears when they were to be used against muskets. The hospital at Nelson which opened soon after Reay's arrival became a centre of attraction both for sick Maoris and for hordes of curious relatives and friends. As a student, Ironside had studied obstetrics and pharmacy, and attendance on the sick in his primitive surgery figured prominently in his daily routine.[1] In the traditional Maori view sickness was always of supernatural causation. A missionary who could effect cures proved beyond doubt that the God of the Europeans was on his side. If they had no knowledge of medicine the missionaries in the southern parts of the Island provided a remedy of sorts for the spiritual sickness of which the symptons were insouciance and lassitude by teaching the Maoris to read so that they could instruct their fellows.

With a virtual monopoly on communications between the two races, the missionaries played a significant part as champions of the Maoris in disputes. In 1848 Creed

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1. McIntosh, 57.

inadvertently assumed this role when he warned John Jones that if the direction of the survey line which was running through the cemetery was not changed he would "go to the extremist measures rather than permit him to run a line through the graves."[1] Creed was not aware that the Maoris denied having sold the block to Jones and that an armed attack was threatened, but his mediation averted violence. It was not the message of "peace on earth" so much as the adjustment of claims that gained the missionaries the Maoris' support.

In these ways the missionaries helped the Maoris through the initial crisis of adjustment to European life. In doing so they contributed to the break-down of tribal life. Ironside noted that old chiefs sat at the feet of young slaves to be taught.[2] In healing sickness the missionaries increased the mana of Jehovah while at the same time raising doubts as to the efficacy of the native gods. And the acceptance of the missionary as mediator in disputes shifted the centre of authority from the korero and the chief to the mission station. The missionaries did not think in terms of lofty phraseology about the 'break-down of the tribal structure.' They found the

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1. Mantell, W., 1 Dec 1848, Outline Journal Kaiapoi-Otago 1848-9, Ms.
2. School Reports, Cloudy Bay, District Meeting, Jan-Feb 1842.

Maoris in a transition state between the old flexible tribal society and the fascinating but confusing European way of life, with the scales tipped heavily in favour of the latter. In the day-to-day situation they could do no more than work in the hope of converting the Maoris before they either sank into irremediable wickedness or became extinct under the influence of prolonged contact with ungodly Europeans.

The missionaries were so involved in breaking the ground that they had little time to grow and cultivate the seed. The period of their initial impact fell between the era of the bone-littered beach, the reeking lubber, the ribald whaler, and the day of the survey line, the church spire and the English lady. Watkin saw that the missionaries had come too late.[1] The Maoris had been 'converted' to the trappings of the civilization the missionaries represented before they came, and the preacher had to labour in constant competition with other Europeans at the whaling stations and trading places. At the same time land sales, the portent of a new age, came hard on the heels of the sealers and whalers.

While the chief historical and psychological shocks which reduced the population so drastically in a few decades

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1. Journal of Watkin, 15 Feb 1841.

had operated before European colonization was firmly established, the real menace for the freedom and autonomy of the Maori was the slow and unrelenting advance of settlement. Traders and missionaries had drastically altered the Maoris' way of life but their primary concern was with the people of the country. The settlers on the other hand applied their energies to subduing the country itself.[1] They had come to New Zealand not to hob-nob with the natives but to better their own condition.

It is not difficult to understand the unashamed sense of superiority of people coming from Victorian England to the rawness and squalor of the Maori settlements in New Zealand. The Europeans never doubted that their presence was an honour and a blessing for any land upon which they should alight. This note sounded with singular clarity in 1842, the year of the founding of the Nelson settlement. The Nelson Examiner reported that Bishop Hadfield arrived at Nelson in March and christened several children, "who have the honour of being the earliest natives of Nelson of English descent...".[2] The settlers had something of the tourist mentality - an eye for the quaint, an ear for good stories to send home. They derived considerable amusement from the antics of the Maoris and

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1. Firth, 446.
2. NE 26 Mar 1842.

reflected upon the attributes of the heathen. The wife of Chief Erino at Hauriri in the Nelson area was noted as having "something of sadness in her careworn smile, which was interesting in a savage...".[1]

Englishmen in this frame of mind did not waste their energies in agony of soul over their right to New Zealand. They simply took over. This attitude is seen not only in the groups of colonists coming out to found church settlements, but in individuals living in isolated places. One such was Jonathan, a gaunt American who was encountered by a party of Europeans during their excursion to Massacre Bay in 1842. Jonathan explained that he had squatted on a piece of land for which he had paid no one. "He would not humbug about it"[2] as he put it.

The colonists' desire to progress in a new land was bolstered with strong religious feeling. Many settlers came out to New Zealand in a mood of devout exultation, invoking the blessing of God upon the land they were about to possess.

> We shall hold the same Creed in the very same way,
> And build up the same Church, tho' of different stone;
> So that Bishops and Clergy may help us to pray
> For the blessing of God on a land of our own.[3]

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1. Ibid., 19 Nov 1842.
2. Ibid., 3 Dec 1842.
3. LT 8 Feb 1851.

This pious exuberance was extended in benevolence towards the Maoris. On 23 February 1851 the offerings from services of thanksgiving for travelling mercies held at Lyttelton and Christchurch were given for missionary work among the Maoris.[1] These respectable sons of the Church noticed the Maoris and offered them alms.

The Maoris were dirty, vulgar and unreliable but they were "useful as labourers for any short stroke of work...".[2] The Lyttelton Times reported the selection of land by the first body of colonists at the partially completed Land Office in Christchurch. The occasion was of a social as well as a business character. Joints of meat with bread, and tea and coffee were laid out on a white cloth and a merry party enjoyed the repast. Outside Maori workmen continued to erect the raupo walls of the building which had been begun that morning.[3] This relegation to the role of labourers and recipients of charity damned the Maoris. So long as they remained in their proper stations they could be made useful, but there was no place for them as equals in the European scheme of things. They were not ready for the exercise of political rights and "the possib-

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1. Ibid., 1 Mar 1851.
2. Ibid., 5 Jul 1851.
3. Ibid., 22 Feb 1851.

ility of the superior intelligence of the Europeans being over-balanced by the ignorance of the uncivilized race"[1] was almost too horrible to contemplate.

European settlement meant a comprehensive European control of native lands. Those entrusted with the task of extinguishing the native title were enjoined to treat the Maoris with patience "in winning them to acquiesce in such arrangements as you may consider most just and best."[2] Mantell reported that the Maoris at Port Cooper were delighted at the prospect of English immigration to that place, but he loathed the whole deceptive affair.

> I must confess that I thoroughly detest this work. I abhor trafficking with the natives..... As an unmarried man I cannot afford to become grey at 30 even at 26/- per day.[3]

The Maoris' mistrust of government agents was not a new development in the 1850's. Beneath the fascination with the white man had lurked for many years the fear that he had come to take the land. When they were asked in 1834 why they wanted to kill Europeans, the Maoris at Otago replied "that it was necessary for their safety."[4] The same kind of incoherent terror of European encroachment was noted by Mantell in 1848. He repeatedly asked the

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1. Ibid., 15 Feb 1851.
2. Ormond (for the Private Secretary) to Mantell, 2 Aug 1848, Ms.
3. Mantell, W., to Mantell, G., 16 Aug 1849, Ms.
4. See above, Chap. 1, p.18.

Maoris why they wanted to be rid of the Europeans, and again and again received the reply "that they must be driven out...".[1] In the 1850's there were reports of a growing dissatisfaction among the Canterbury Maoris since they had heard the prices at which land was being resold compared with the mere tokens that they had received by way of payment.[2]

To the Maori his land represented not merely a matter of subsistence but a mass of emotional values, many of ancestral significance. These were values that the survey line did not take into account. In the eight years of his first New Zealand governorship (1845-53) Grey bought nearly 30 million acres of Maori land in the South Island and about 3 million acres in the North Island. The southern purchase cost roughly £13,000: the northern £36,500.[3]

From the evidence of statistics, tales, and what they observed, Europeans continued to remark in the 1850's on the apparently imminent extinction of the native race.[4] The conviction that they were doomed accounts for the

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1. Outline Journal Kaiapoi-Otago, 4 Dec 1848.
2. Hamilton, J., to Fox, W., 11 Jan 1850, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 6.
3. Rutherford, J., Sir George Grey, 163.
4. LT 15 Feb 1851.

docility and enervation of the Maoris. Kinita, a Maori from Wellington stirred up some support for the Maori King movement in the South Island,[1] but there was no great outcry, no surge of rebellion against the pakeha who had established himself with such aplomb in a land not his own.

In general the South Island Maoris were considered to be physically and morally inferior to those in the North Island.[2] Men who had seen a North Island haka scorned the alarm of the ladies viewing a poor South Island imitation with the Maoris sporting a ludicrous assortment of ragged European clothes instead of "tomahawk and paint."[3]

Missionary work in the South Island did not wither and die after the first heroic era in the early 1840's. But the day of greatest opportunity, which had in any case come late, was over too soon. Canon Stack commenced his work as missionary to the Canterbury Maoris in 1859 and devoted himself to "the moral and religious amelioration of his interesting charge."[4] In Otago "The Society for elevating the condition of the natives in Otago" applied its inclinations for elevation to the instruction of the Maoris in that area.[5] But in the late 1840's and early 1850's there

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1. Report by Buller, W., 27 Dec 1859, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 128.
2. LT 5 Jul 1851.
3. The Journal of Edward Ward, pp. 120-21.
4. Buller, W., to the Native Secretary, 8 Mar 1860, Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, ii. 130.
5. Report of Strode, A., 20 Dec 1861, Ibid., ii. 134.

is in the record of Selwyn, Wohlers, Ironside, Creed, Aldred in Canterbury, and Kirk at Waikouaiti a note of deep disappointment. In 1854 Kirk wrote:

> I am sorry to say that the Natives of this circuit, who form our principal charge, are very careless about their soul's best interests.... Whereas formerly almost the entire population attended public worship, now not half of them do so.[1]

The faithful laboured on, but the scab of sterility was upon the work.

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1. Kirk, W., to the Rev. E. Hoole, 1 Nov 1854.

APPENDIX A : DECLINE OF WHALING STATIONS.

Waikouaiti	1837	tons of oil	?
	1838	" " "	145
	1839	" " "	125
	1840	" " "	104
	1841	" " "	40
	1842	" " "	11
	1843	" " "	23
Onekakara near Moeraki	1837	" " "	88
	1838	" " "	119
	1839	" " "	108
	1840	" " "	55
	1841	" " "	54
	1842	" " "	9
	1843	" " "	8½

Shortland, Southern Districts. Appendix VI (extract).

GLOSSARY

This glossary includes only those Maori terms used but not defined in the text. Place names and names of persons have not been included.

atua	god, in pluralistic sense of traditional Maori pantheistic religion.
haka	a stirring and warlike dance with accompanying chant.
hapu	a sub-tribe, or the largest sub-division of a tribe.
hue	a gourd.
kaka	a large greenish parrot.
kanakana	lampreys.
karakia	the ancient rites proper to every important matter in the life of the Maori.
kaikoukai	system of exchange.
korero	a meeting for discussion.
kumara	sweet potato.
mana	prestige, power, authority, influence.
pa	a Maori village.
pakeha	a person in New Zealand of predominantly European ancestry.
paremata	a return feast for one previously given, or in response to a gift.
petou	a weapon.
pihopa	bishop

pounamu	greenstone.
Poutini	West Coast.
rangatira	a person of chiefly hereditary rank or noble birth.
taipo	goblin. Note. This word is used by Maoris believing it English, and by Europeans believing it Maori, it being apparently neither.
tapu	unclean; sacred.
taro	a plant cultivated for food.
ti	edible plant.
titi	mutton bird.
tohunga	formerly a Maori priest or expert craftsman; in more recent times a practitioner of medicine and magic.
utu	revenge.
te utu	payment.
weka	a bird with black and brownish feathers.
whanau	the extended family group.

A Note on Certain Missionaries.

These notes are largely from G.H. Scholefield: A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (2 volumes).

Aldred, Rev. John (1818-94). Wesleyan.

Aldred pioneered three missionary ventures in New Zealand. On 23 December 1840 he became the first resident Wesleyan minister in Wellington. He was the first clergyman to visit the Chatham Islands. In March 1854 he moved to Canterbury and became the first Wesleyan minister in Christchurch. In 1859 Canon Stack heard an ardent Wesleyan denounce "good old Mr. Aldred, the minister, as a latitudinarian."

See: Stack, More Maoriland Adventures, 244.

Creed, Rev. Charles (1812-79). Wesleyan.

Creed arrived in New Zealand in February 1839. After two years at Hokianga and Kaipara he went with a mission party to Taranaki. They were the first resident missionaries in Taranki, and Mrs. Creed was the first European woman to settle there. After three years in charge of the Maori population between Cook Strait and Waikato the conference sent him to succeed Watkin in Otago, with responsibility for the Maoris from Stewart Island to Kaikoura.

Ironside, Rev. Samuel (1814-97). Wesleyan.

After the Wairau affray Ironside left the Cloudy Bay mission station in the temporary charge of Paramena, a Maori teacher, and later arranged for a catechist named Jenkins to supervise the work.

The Rev. T.G. Hammond considered Ironside "as an exceptionally fine type of man, who could have sustained any position in life had he not been called to the work of a missionary."

See: Pybus, pp. 179-80.

Kirk, Rev. William (1825-1915). Wesleyan.

William Kirk was born at Epworth, Wesley's birth-place.

In 1853, while on his way to succeed Creed at Waikouaiti and Otago Kirk was detained at Christchurch for about nine months in order to take charge of the Methodists residing there until the arrival of Aldred in 1854. From the Waikouaiti mission station the Rev. Kirk erected the first church in Port Chalmers.

See: Ibid., p. 129, p. 75.

Pompallier, Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois (1801-71). Roman Catholic.

When Pompallier arrived at Hokianga in January 1838 Thomas and Mary Poynton lent their cottage until a new place could be built for him on the ten acres which had been donated to the mission at Omamari. The Bishop used one room as a temporary chapel in which he could administer the sacraments to European Roman Catholics and instruct the Maoris.

Bishop Pompallier made a number of long sea journeys on the east coast of both islands establishing the work of the Roman Catholic Mission.

See: Keys, pp. 91-2; Appendix 6.

Te Rauparaha, Tamihana or Katu (1819-76). Church of England.

Tamihana was the son of Te Rauparaha. He received some education at St. John's College, Auckland and formed a club the members of which engaged themselves to live in English houses and to wear English clothing. In 1839, against the wishes of the older chiefs, he and his cousin Te Whiwhi made a voyage to the Bay of Islands to obtain a missionary for Cook Strait. In 1852 Tamihana visited England with Bishop Williams and was presented to Queen Victoria.

Reay, Rev. Charles Lucas. Church of England.

Reay was an Oxford scholar. He arrived in Nelson with Bishop Selwyn on 21 August 1842. For several years he carried on educational and medicinal work as well as religious activities in the Cook Strait area of the South Island.

Selwyn, Bishop George Augustus (1809-78). Church of England.

With his wife Selwyn sailed for New Zealand on 26 December 1841. Accompanying them were Reay, four other clergymen, three catechists, and a schoolmaster and mistress, all placed at his disposal by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Nancy Taylor[1] recounts a story illustrating the respect that Selwyn's physical qualities won him. An old seaman watched the Bishop sailing a boat up Auckland harbour against a strong wind. 'Look at him,' said he, 'it's enough to make a man a bloody Christian.'

Watkin, Rev. James (1805-86). Wesleyan.

Watkin was ordained in June 1830. In the same month he married Hannah Entwistle whose "ancestors came to England

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1. Op cit., pp. 58-9.

with William the Norman, and one of them fought at Agincourt."[1]

After seven years successful work as a missionary in Tonga Watkin proceeded to Sydney and worked in New South Wales. In 1838 he published the pamphlet Pity Poor Fiji.

The Wesleyan conference in England designated Watkin for Kapiti in 1839. However, before his arrival Hadfield was sent there by the Church Missionary Society. In Sydney the Rev. Bumby received Jones' offer of assistance for a missionary at Waikouaiti, and Watkin was selected for the post.

Wohlers, Rev. Johann Friedrich Heinrich (1811-85). Lutheran.

At six years of age Wohlers went to live with his grandmother at Hoyerhagen. There he received his education "among carts, plough, harrows, and corn wagons." He often visited the mill at Vilsen, and from the miller's family obtained a translation of Watkin's pamphlet Pity Poor Fiji. As a result of reading this appeal Wohlers volunteered for missionary work.

He was ordained in 1842 and designated for New Zealand. With his three companions he arrived in Nelson in June 1843. Wohlers worked in the Upper Moutere Valley

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1. Pybus, 2.

until 1844 when, with letters of introduction from Ironside, he sailed south.

See: Ibid., 96.

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